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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit.* c. 6.

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## JOHANN KASPAR ZEUSS: FOUNDER OF CELTIC PHILOLOGY.

In the investigations on the common origin of the Indo-Germanic languages which took place early in the last century in Germany, the home of comparative grammar, the Celtic branch did not for some time take part. To be sure a good deal was written about that time, in Germany as well as elsewhere in Europe, on the ethnography and literature of the Celts, but these writings are often the work of dilettanti, and although of interest for historical reasons, are for the most part of little scientific value. Among the more notable of the early works, to confine ourselves to Germany, may be mentioned Diefenbach's "*Celtica*" (1839) which, although antiquated, is still of considerable interest for the Gaulish names it contains, and Leo's essay (1845) on the Old-Irish hymn of Fiacc in honor of St. Patrick. Even before this Bopp, the founder of comparative grammar, had called attention to the importance of Celtic in the study of Indo-Germanic and in 1838 read an essay before the Berlin Academy on the affinity of the Celtic language with the Sanskrit—but the honor of having inaugurated Celtic Philology belongs incontestably to Johann Kaspar Zeuss whose work, epoch-making in the strictest meaning of the word, the "*Grammatica Celtica*,"<sup>1</sup> is the basis on which the new science has since his time been developed.

<sup>1</sup> "*Grammatica Celtica e monumentis vetustis tam Hibernicæ linguæ quam Britannicorum dialectorum Cambricæ, Cornicæ, Aremoricæ Comparatis Gallicæ prisæ reliquiis construxit, I. C. Zeuss, Phil. Dr. Hist. Prof. 1853.*"

This remarkable man was born July 22, 1806, at Vogtendorf, a village not far from Kronach in Upper Franconia, Bavaria, where his father was a master-mason. He attended the village school at Höfles, near by, and was from the first destined for study. His mother often took him with her to the church on the Kreuzberg, near Kronach, and from the priest he received his first instruction in Latin.<sup>1</sup> After he had attended the Latin school at Kronach he was received, in 1820, in the progymnasium at Bamberg where he soon surpassed his fellows in their studies. The choice of his vocation cost him a great struggle, for his mother wished very much that should be a priest, but Zeuss felt that that was not his calling. He attended the Lyceum at Bamberg and the University at Würzburg for a short time and, in 1826, decided to go to Munich. There he devoted himself to linguistic studies, Oriental as well as classical, Slavic and comparative grammar, but his native language attracted his chief attention. Toward the end of his university career he was tutor two and a half years in the house of the Count of Montgelas. He completed his university studies in 1830, and in 1832 was appointed instructor in Hebrew at the old Gymnasium at Munich. This post he held until 1839. His leisure he gave to scientific investigations and, in 1837, produced "*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*" which, not finding a publisher, he printed at his own expense. In 1838 Zeuss received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Erlangen and in the same year he asked to be appointed professor of Germanic philology, at Würzburg or Erlangen; his lectures, he says in his petition, would be on historical German grammar, the interpretation of Old German texts, northern mythology and Sanskrit grammar. His application was rejected at Würzburg on the ground that other needs had first to be satisfied there and that the establishment of a professorship of Germanic philology was not then necessary; it was refused at Erlangen on the ground that the faculty had not sufficient evidence of the applicant's qualifications for the post. His petition was equally unsuccessful at Berlin.

<sup>1</sup> The material of this brief sketch of Zeuss' life is taken from C. W. Glück's "*Erinnerungen an Kasper Zeuss*," München, 1857. Cf. *Revue Celtique*, VI, 519, *Zeits. f. Celt. Phil.*, III, 199, "*Allgem. Deutsche Biographie*," Bd. XLV.

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There his name was well known but he was objected to because of his religion. In 1839, however, he was appointed teacher of history at the newly founded lyceum at Speier where he remained seven years and produced: "*Die Herkunft der Baiern von den Markomannen gegen die bisherigen Muthmassungen*," "*Traditiones possessionesque Wizenburgenses*" and "*Die freie Reichsstadt Speier vor ihrer Zerstörung nach urkundlichen Quellen örtlich geschildert*." From Speier he often went to Carlsruhe, and regularly every Saturday to Heidelberg, where he passed the time in the library, returning to Speier on Monday mornings. In Speier he applied himself with eagerness to the Celtic languages and every year made a journey to London, Oxford, St. Gall, Milan or Würzburg to collect manuscript which contained Celtic glosses. He knew all the libraries in which there was anything to be found on the subject and it was chiefly in order that he might be able to use his savings for gathering material and reaching the goal of his Celtic studies that he remained unmarried. In 1847 Zeuss was appointed ordinary professor of history at the University of Munich, but the Munich climate did not agree with him, and lecturing in the large halls of the university was injurious as he suffered from lung trouble, and after only a few months he was obliged to ask to be reappointed to his former post, or transferred to a milder climate, with the result that in the fall of the same year he was appointed teacher of history at the Bamberg Gymnasium. In 1855 his health failed and he received leave of absence for the winter term; he passed the time at Kronach with his brother who followed the father's trade. The following spring he was at his request retired for the space of a year and passed his last days with his sister in Vogtendorf. He died November 10, 1856, just fifty years old.

Zeuss is described by one who visited him shortly before his death as tall, with black hair and moustache and a Slavonic rather than a German cast of countenance. Great as Zeuss was as a scholar, equally modest was the retirement in which he lived. As a school-boy in Bamberg he seemed shy at first sight but on acquaintance one recognized that it was merely his nature to keep to himself. He took no part in the games of the

boys but found pleasure and delight in study alone. Only in the last years of his university life did he attach himself to a few of the best of his fellow-students. In his maturer years as well he loved retirement; still, he formed a true friendship with the pupil who accompanied him in his career. When a boy he set learning above everything; even so, later, research and science were the air in which he breathed.

Zeuss was already one of the most prominent Germanists of his time when he began more and more to give attention to the study of the Celtic languages and to the great task of Celtic grammar. He thus announces his gigantic work: "It is my purpose to set forth on the basis of the oldest extant monuments, the nature, variety and forms of that language which, of all the related languages that spread from India over Asia and Europe, is farthest to the West . . . not of small importance must that work be considered which shall help us to examine the laws of the language of a people split up, no doubt, ages ago, but once widely spread over Europe, the remains of which, accordingly, are plentiful from the very earliest period and are still represented in the more recent languages."<sup>1</sup> Zeuss began with copying the old manuscripts which contain Celtic texts, he got together the remains of the old Celtic language, the Gaulish, which are scattered in the writings of the ancients, on inscriptions and in other documents; he devoted long and searching study to the Ogam inscriptions and the oldest monuments of the Irish, Welsh, Breton and Cornish, and made himself familiar with their modern varieties. But he gave especial prominence to the Old-Irish:

"In the prosecution of this work which, in the first place, inquires into what were the primitive and common Celtic forms and how the modern variety has arisen from them, the Irish language claims the first place as being, of all the related languages of Europe and Asia, the last, as the island Thule is the farthest west in Europe. It claims

<sup>1</sup> *Linguae, quae inter cognatas linguas ab India per Asiam et Europam dilatatas extrema est in occidente, naturam, varietatem formasque e fundamento monumentorum extantium vetustorum exponere aggredior . . . non parvi etiam erit aestimanda opera ea, qua fiat facultas inspiciendi leges linguae nationis fractae illius quidem iam dudum, sed latissime quondam per Europam patentis, cuius linguae rudera ideo non rara sunt iam a vetustis temporibus, atque hodie quoque extant in aliis recentioribus linguis.*

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attention not only because of the greater richness of the Irish form of Celtic but also because of the more numerous monuments preserved in Old-Irish codices which far surpass, both in their number and their subject matter, the British codices of the same age, or, more strictly speaking, the Cymric which alone reach the age of the Irish."<sup>1</sup>

The codices which Zeuss made use of and which are the sources of his grammar are, for the Irish, the St. Gall Priscian, the Würzburg Paulinus, codices from the Ambrosian Library at Milan, from Carlsruhe and Cambrai, seven in all, dating from the seventh to the ninth century. Out of this material Zeuss, with consummate skill, created the "*Grammatica Celtica*." The work is admirably arranged so as to show the relations of the Celtic languages to each other, their phonology, formology, word-composition, syntax, the principal verse-forms and specimens from the earliest monuments.

To Zeuss is due the credit of having made known the existence of Celtic linguistic phenomena and of having formulated the laws which have since been elaborated. His work had no forerunners in the shape of separate studies on Celtic subjects and so came as a revelation to those engaged in general comparative grammar as well as to those whose specialties lay in the allied philologies. Few at the time were able to criticise his work. As he was his own teacher so all were his disciples. The Germanic languages had been opened up some time before by Jacob Grimm, and Diez' etymological dictionary of the Romance languages had appeared one month before the "*Grammatica Celtica*," but Zeuss had far greater difficulties to overcome than either of the above for in no field of history or philology had wilder theories been propounded. The "*Grammatica Celtica*" ranks as one of the greatest monuments of erudition and its author as one of the first scholars of the

<sup>1</sup> *Hibernica lingua, extrema et ultima omnium linguarum Europæ et Asiæ a primordio affinium, ut Thule insula est ultima Europæ, in inquisitionibus huius operis, quæ id quaerunt præsertim, quæ fuerint primitivæ et communes celticæ formæ et quomodo ex eis prodierit recentior varietas, primum locum sibi vindicat primamque diligentiam, non solum ob maiorem formarum ubertatem linguæ ipsius, sed etiam ob copiosiora monumenta servata in codicibus vetustis hibernicis, a quibus longe superantur tam numero quam contentorum copia britannici codices eiusdem ætatis vel potius cambrici, qui scilicet soli ætatem hibernicorum attingunt.*

century. John O'Donovan, in a notice on the death of Zeuss, wrote:

"Ireland ought not to think of him without gratitude, for the Irish nation has had no nobler gift bestowed upon them by any continental author for centuries back than the work which he has written on their language."

The "*Grammatica Celtica*" appeared in the year 1853, just fifty years ago, and the progress of Celtic studies during the half century in Germany, where scientific methods have been applied to the languages and literatures of the Celtic people, may be judged from a brief account of the most prominent German Celtists and their most important work. It was inevitable in a pioneer work of such vast extent as that of Zeuss, embracing as it did all the available material from the earliest records of the Celtic languages to his own time, that errors of various kinds should creep in, and Zeuss himself during the three years that he survived the publication of his work had prepared a great deal of matter for its revision and intrusted the preparation of the new edition to his pupil Christian Wilhelm Glück, "*virum unice sibi coniunctum et pietate discipuli et familiaritatis usu*" (Ebel). Glück as well as his master was a Bavarian and studied at Erlangen, Tübingen, Zurich and Berne; he was Zeuss' junior by four years and died in 1866. The work by which he is best known is "*Die bei C. I. Cæsar vorkommenden Keltischen Namen.*" Among the letters which Zeuss wrote to Glück during the last three years of his life (mostly answers to questions on the Celtic languages)<sup>1</sup> is one under date of September, 1853, one month after the appearance of the "*Grammatica Celtica*," in which Zeuss already speaks of the need of a new edition of his grammar; again, in 1855, when he found that he himself had not the strength to carry out the work, he wrote to Glück asking him to undertake the latter, but Glück's health, likewise, forbade him to do so and the task fell to Hermann Wilhelm Ebel, in some respects the most illustrious of Zeuss' scholars. He was born in 1820 and his death in 1875 prevented the Celtic course which he had announced for the winter of 1875-6 at Berlin.

<sup>1</sup> These letters have been published in *Zeitschrift für Celt. Phil.*, Vol. III.

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Ebel was prominent in comparative grammar investigations; his Celtic studies are to be found chiefly in the volume of Kuhn's "Zeitschrift" and in Bezzenberger's "Beiträge." In his revision of Zeuss he had help in the first place from the *relicta* of the latter and from the works of Stokes and Schleicher, of whom the latter had devoted study to Old-Irish in his works on the comparative grammar of the Indo-Germanic languages. As the result of his constant labor in the investigation of the structure of the Celtic languages the "Grammatica Celtica" was greatly improved: Zeuss's statements were reviewed and supplemented in many ways, errors and omissions corrected, many additional illustrations brought forth and the parts of the work more usefully distributed, so that the Zeuss-Ebel Grammar is an almost entirely new work and the only edition of the "Grammatica Celtica" now referred to.

In the same year as the appearance of this work, that is in 1871, Ernst Windisch lectured on Celtic at Leipzig and during 1874-5 at Heidelberg; since then he has lectured at Leipzig, is the Nestor of German Celtists, and was the teacher of Thurneysen and Zimmer. The place accorded to the Celtic languages in Curtius' "Grundzüge der Griechischen Etymologie" is due to his efforts. His first work devoted to Irish alone, the "Kurzgefasste Irische Grammatik" which appeared in 1879, blazed a way through the mazes of Zeuss, of which it is chiefly a digest, and made the study of Old- and Middle-Irish more accessible. The grammar has been twice translated into English and it would be safe to say that no book has so greatly facilitated the study of Irish. It was not Windisch's intention to make his 'Concise Grammar' an historical grammar of Irish; the bare facts of the language are given, and a few pages of selections from the Old-Irish glosses and the Middle-Irish texts with a glossary thereto. Of even more importance than his Grammar is the chrestomathy "Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch" which was published in 1880 and with it began a new era in the study of Irish—especially of Middle-Irish, to which Windisch has given particular attention; in the work Old-Irish was only a starting point and Old- and Middle-Irish forms are not distinguished. This was probably the most important contribution to Irish lexicography in the last



century, for it brought together and put into a convenient form for the student a mass of material up to that time widely scattered and difficult of access. It contains the Old-Irish hymns from the "Liber Hymnorum" and from the Irish manuscript from the monastery of St. Paul in Carinthia, besides several of the most interesting episodes in prose and verse from the Middle-Irish saga cycles, some here printed for the first time, and one prose text of a religious character, the "Fís Adamnáin" or Vision of Adamnán. The Irish texts are preceded by notices on the MSS., the sources and variant readings, but the greatest value of the book lies in the rich vocabulary of over 7000 words, occupying nearly two-thirds of the whole volume, with rare exceptions supported by authorities, references, etc. In spite of the severe criticism which the book met with at the hands of some reviewers—it was as extravagantly praised by others—the "Irische Texte" certainly is a work of the first rank, and if it does not "stand next to that of Zeuss-Ebel on the shelves of every Celtist" it is the best-thumbed book in his library. The publication of Irish texts thus begun has been continued since 1884 in the series of "Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch" edited by Whitley Stokes and Ernst Windisch, and intended primarily for the publication of the Irish national heroic legends.

Under Windisch Heinrich Zimmer began his Celtic studies and lectured in Berlin from 1878 to 1881 and since then in Greifswald until, in 1901, he was appointed to the newly founded chair of Celtic at Berlin, the only one in Germany devoted exclusively to Celtic, and is consequently regarded as the dean of German Celtologues. His first important writings bearing on Celtic are the "Keltische Studien" (1881) the first part of which is given up to a violent attack on Windisch's "Irische Texte"; in the second part are Zimmer's views, which he has since modified, "Ueber altirische Betonung und Verskunst" which, he says in the preface, he composed in six weeks, working twelve hours daily, or rather nightly, from 4 p. m. to 4 a. m. In the same year appeared his "Glossæ Hibernicæ e Codicibus Wirziburgensi Carolisruhensibus et aliis," with *addenda* and *corrigenda* in 1886, but without translation or index. The work was the occasion for some severe counter

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criticism from Celtists in England and France, and has since been partly superseded by the publication of the "*Thesaurus Palæohibernicus*," but it was the first complete edition of the Würzburg Paulinus, which contains the most important of Old-Irish glosses, for Zeuss and Ebel had printed only a small part of it. Zimmer's investigations on all phases of Celtic philology are scattered throughout many scientific journals of Germany and would fill several thick volumes. Most important of all was the discovery of the laws and effects of Irish accent which has necessitated a complete remodelling of Irish grammar.

The credit of having made this discovery is shared by Professor Thurneysen, one of the foremost living Celtists. Rudolf Thurneysen studied under Windisch and Zimmer and lectured on Celtic, first at Jena in 1882-3, and since 1887-8 in Freiburg. In 1884 appeared his first work on Celtic philology, "*Keltoromanisches*," which is of the greatest value to Romanists as well as to Celtists, in which the words supposed by Diez, in his "*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen*," to be of Celtic origin are critically examined. In collaboration with Bruno Güterbock, who is best known for his "*Bemerkungen über die lateinischen Lehnwörter im Irischen*" published in 1882, he compiled in 1881 the "*Indices Glossarum et Vocabulorum Hibernicorum quæ in Grammaticæ Celticæ editione altera explanantur*" which by its abundant references greatly facilitated the use of the "*Grammatica Celtica*." The first part serves as a commentary on the glosses in Zeuss-Ebel with references to the places of occurrence of each word; the second part is an index of all the Irish words of the "*Grammatica Celtica*." Among Thurneysen's many writings on Celtic subjects (for example the Old-Irish part in Brugmann's "*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*"), two may be mentioned here, his fundamental study of Middle-Irish metric in the third series of the "*Irische Texte*," consisting of the publication of three metrical tractates on the kinds of poetry, classes of poets and rules of composition, with notes explanatory of the technical terms, and his "*Sagen aus dem Alten Irland*" (1901), a collection of fourteen of the most interesting mediæval Irish tales

translated into German and intended primarily to make known to the German public the richness and variety of Irish literature, and containing valuable bibliographical and literary notices.

In this brief account of the progress of Celtic philology in Germany since its foundation by Zeuss mention at least must be made of the other Celtic scholars, Germans in training at least, who in recent years have added most to our stock of knowledge of Celtic antiquity and civilization; Hugo Schuchardt who has written extensively and, since 1882 at Graz in Austria, has occasionally lectured on Celtic; A. Holder whose monumental work, the "Altceltischer Sprachschatz" first appeared in 1891 and is still in course of publication, a work of vast compass and a wonderful repertory of Gaulish material gathered from inscriptions, documents and quotations from ancient authors; Kuno Meyer, who occupies himself mostly with the Middle- and early Modern-Irish literature; Max Nettlau, best known for his contributions to Cymric as well as to Middle-Irish grammar; the Danish philologist Holger Pedersen, well known in other fields of Indo-Germanic philology, whose most valuable work in Celtic is his "Aspirationen i Irsk"; E. Zupitza, W. Meyer Lübke, Chr. Sarauw, Rich. Schmidt and Fred. Sommer.

It is not surprising that Old-Irish, the most important branch of the Celtic languages for comparative grammar purposes, and Middle-Irish because of the age and wealth of its literature, have been the favorite domain of investigators but the sister languages have not lacked attention from German scholars. To tell those who have advanced the study of Welsh and Breton would be to repeat most of the names already given. In the Gaelic of Scotland Ludwig Christian Stern of Berlin is *facile princeps* and almost alone on the continent; but in Celtic antiquities, archæology, mythology, folklore and law hardly anything has as yet been done in Germany.

The great activity of German scholarship in editing glosses and texts, and in solving the problems of Celtic grammar, made it advisable to publish a German review devoted exclusively to these subjects in addition to the linguistic and literary journals, pamphlets and proceedings of learned societies and

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the peculiarly Celtic periodicals of France, Ireland and Great Britain in which the results of their investigations had been, and are still, made public. So in 1896 the first volume of the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* appeared and in the same year the *Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie*, which is German in title and place of publication, although written mostly in English. The "Archiv" is intended chiefly to be the storehouse of everything relating to Celtic glossology (some Cornish and Breton glosses have already been published) and of the Middle-Irish in particular.

But German Celtists have not been absorbed in the purely linguistic side of Celtic philology to the neglect of the literary history. A great deal of this, however, is almost entirely in the hands of Zimmer, although Windisch and Stern have done much on the Ossianic cycle. Zimmer's views on this question are peculiar and not generally accepted, especially his theory of the great influence on Old-Irish language and saga material of the German, or more strictly Scandinavian, by which he tries to explain the Finn and Ossian stories. The versions of the voyage of St. Brendan have also been studied by him and in Latin-Celtic literature his "Nennius Vindicatus" on the authorship, date and transmission of the *Historia Britonum* has been the occasion of many disputes on these and related questions. It is around the "Matière de Bretagne" however that the battle has raged most, *i. e.*, as to how the Celtic material entered French literature. This difficult and important question, since it concerns the Arthurian romances, the Breton lays, the Tristan and Grail sagas and the poems of Marie de France and Chrestien de Troyes, has been debated with very different results by the Celtists, Romanists and English scholars of Europe and America. Zimmer's conclusion, based largely on a study of proper names, and probably not far from the truth, is, in a word, that the Arthurian material arose among the Bretons and that the romanized Bretons, especially those from the bilingual zone of the Armorican peninsula, were the bearers of the traditions to their French neighbors to the north.

It is mainly through the efforts of German scholars that our knowledge of the main facts of Celtic grammar has been

advanced; they have also done much in editing the Old-Irish glosses—the basis for all scientific study of the Celtic languages—which are now nearly all in print, and in publishing mediæval Celtic texts, but many fields are yet untouched and none exhausted. For example the historical syntax of the Celtic dialects has hardly begun and their literary history is only in its beginnings. Although a few excellent collections have been compiled, the vocabulary of Middle- and Modern-Irish is far from being complete, and here each student must be for a time and to a certain extent his own lexicographer. The extent of the field and the abundance of material make this an exceptionally difficult task, while the necessity of keeping as distinct as possible the different periods of the language, and the fact that very few of the texts we have are at first hand but are mostly in the language of different periods and different localities, add to the difficulty. All the efforts of Celtists are concentrated on the historical grammar of the Celtic languages from their beginnings up to and including their modern varieties, and not till that is accomplished will Zeuss' "*Grammatica Celtica*" have been superseded.

JOHN JOSEPH DUNN.

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## THE "PUZZLE" OF HAMLET.

"The Puzzle of Hamlet" is a phrase frequently repeated; and the more "Hamlet" is considered by the critics, the oftener it is repeated, and the reasons for it may be found in the lack of serious study given to the text of this incomparable drama and psychological study, as well as in the neglect by the reader of culture of the contemporary literature of Shakspeare's time. Added to these is the strange habit of guessing at Shakspeare's meaning from a modern point of view. This habit is fixed by the determination of so many persons to read the past as if we possessed the one light capable of illuminating it. It is as if we thought the secrets of old rolls of papyrus could reveal themselves only under the rays of the electric light. Hamlet has been made a puzzle because of our inability to look at the text from the point of view of a contemporary. "'ow could Shakespere 'ave lived in such a nasty 'ouse without h' illuminating gas?" asked a Cockney at Stratford.

In the most scholarly work in the department of English literature, written in the last fifteen years, "A History of Criticism," George Saintsbury says, speaking of the critical necessity of confining ourselves to the actual texts. "This is not perhaps a fashionable proceeding. Not what Plato says, but what the latest commentator says about Plato—not what Chaucer says, but what the latest thesis-writer thinks about Chaucer—is supposed to be the qualifying study of the scholar. I am not able to share this conception of scholarship. When we have read and digested the whole of Plato, we may, if we like, turn to his latest German editor; when we have read and digested the whole of Shakspeare, and Shakspeare's contemporaries, we may, if we like, turn to Shakspearean biographers and commentators."

A fault in much Shakspearean criticism is that it is too reverential. The writer who scans the Bible, alert to find an anachronism or an exaggeration, sprawls at full length before the silliest "sallet" of the Bard of Avon or, perhaps of Messrs. Hemynge and Condell, in rapt admiration. Hysterical girls

after a morning recital by Paderewski are no more ecstatic than some of the Shakspearean acolytes; this blazon ought not to be; it makes Shakspeare an idol hidden in clouds of incense,—an idol to be worshipped as unreasoningly as all idols are worshipped. From what we can discover of the English of the sixteenth century—and no great list of historical references is needed to show this,—we know that they regarded a play as a play, not as an enigma to be thought about, written about, discussed as a problem in philosophy. All the reconstructions of the Elizabethan playhouse show that the auditors went there to weep or laugh, to love the hero and to detest the villain, to applaud the good and to hate the bad. The recent revival of the Catholic morality play, “*Everyman*,” ought to give us a clue to the truth that the drama in England, from the day of its appearance in the monasteries to the day of its disappearance under the ban of ultra-Protestantism, was made to be seen and heard, not read or strenuously studied. Again, although we talk of the continuity of history, we do not take seriously the truth it implies,—that, in essentials, human nature has always been the same; and that by recognizing these essentials, we get the keys to many things of the past that are closed to us by the unconscious assumption that we are a new order of beings, transformed by the Reformation and experimental philosophy. That the Elizabethans and the Jacobeans did not, in the space of a few years, break completely with the beliefs and traditions of the ancient Catholic Church, that they, in spite of the manner in which distance and romance have transfigured them, took a matter-of-fact view of life; and that there were varying shades of belief, opinion and taste are facts that might well be taken into consideration in discussing the meaning of “*Hamlet*.” No audience will flock to a playhouse to see a tragedy which it does not understand or with which it is out of sympathy. The moralities and miracle plays were almost too obvious for our present taste, but not more than sufficiently obvious for the liking of the English of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The dramas of Shakspeare, Fletcher, Chapman, and the rest may contain a cipher. That is another question. It is certain that a noble Earl who liked to listen to music or to mingle with his countrymen of a lower caste at

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bear beatings, did not go to see "Hamlet" for the zest of solving any problem, whether in cipher or not!

A lover of Shakspeare recognizing these things, has two quarrels on his hands,—or at least, two reasons for irritation in his mind. One is with the expositor of "Hamlet" who treats the text as a mere matter for the student; the other with the actor, having, in his art, so many means that make for clarity, who uses the play as if his own personality was the first thought, and the meaning of the author the second. To these reasons for discontent may be added,—the disregard of the actor's part in the making of the play by the student and the slavish obedience by the actor, in minor details, to the student. The student forgets that "Hamlet" was written to be acted, and the actor does not recognize that neither philological "guesses" of the note-maker, nor the exact shape of Laertes' cloak are of consequence, provided the value of each character be so expressed that the meaning of the tragedy is full and clear;—if the actor could impress on the student that, if "intuitional" interpretation is to be allowed, he has the advantage, because he is forced in the exercise of his art to take Shakspeare's point of view, we might have less critical dust thrown in our eyes.

There is now no difference of opinion as to the position of "Hamlet" in the literature of the world,—Voltaire having been long ago thrown out of court. Insight into man's heart and mind, and into the fundamental verities which underlie life, expressed in words of piercing beauty and aptness, is acknowledged to exist to an amazing degree; but, if the art-form in which these appear is defective, the symmetry of the masterpiece is affected. In a word, if the play does not answer all the requirements of a play, if it be not interesting and clear, Shakspeare made a serious mistake in adopting the dramatic form. If Shakspeare was not sure whether Hamlet was mad or not, or whether he was noble or not, or whether he loved Ophelia or not, or whether Gertrude had sinned or not, he had the commentators of the future in his mind's eye, and he wrote for them; but, as his utter disregard of the future of his written plays shows that he did not consider the commentators, he must have had in mind an immediate audience. And for the audience of the moment, the dramatist must be sure of what

he wants to say, and must say it with vigor. There have been exceptions, no doubt, but not enough to prove that a so-called drama, of the vagueness of one of Henry James' novels, could hold the attention of normal auditors. From the first, "Hamlet," as a play, is clear and admirably constructed to meet the demands of the London stage of the time.

A glance at the source of the play,—*"The History of Hamlet,"*—connotes the evident purpose of Shakspeare to show that the Prince of Denmark counterfeits madness. Hamlet, in the *"Historie,"* is, however, a very young prince who imitates Brutus, because he knows that his father-uncle, Fengon, suspects that he will avenge his father's murder as soon as he comes of age. He is a Pagan, and he thinks and acts as a Pagan; but Shakspeare was too much of his own time, to be able to project himself into a Pagan mind, and too much of an artist to forego the opportunities offered by a conflict between Christianity and that nature which Edmund, in his famous soliloquy called his "goddess." In this conflict lies the pregnant interest of the play. If Hamlet had Edmund's contempt for any law but Nature's, the play would have lost its deep dramatic interest. In the *"Historie of Hamlet,"* as in Malory's *"Morte d'Arthur"* Paganism shows plainly through the Christian veneering. The translators apologize for this, conscious always of the lack of sympathy in their readers for a Prince, no matter how greatly injured, who would thirst for the mere satisfaction of vengeance. In *"Hamlet"* the Pagan man bursts through the habits of the Christian mind. The young Prince will not kill Claudius at his prayers.

"Not might I do it, pat, now he is praying;  
And now I'll do it; and so he goes to heaven,  
And so I am avenged? That would be scanned;  
A villain kills my father; and, for that,  
I, his sole son, do this same villain send  
To heaven.  
Oh, this is hire and salary, not revenge."

The Pagan writing on the palimpsest has not been entirely effaced. Whether Shakspeare had read the *"Historie of Hamlet"* or not, or whether he founded *"Hamlet"* on an old

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tragedy derived from the "Historie," it is evident that he had at least at heart the conflict between Christian law and that lawlessness,—that giving way to natural impulses,—to desire or hatred, knowing no law, which we call Pagan. How coolly too, Hamlet sends his treacherous friends, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to their death. His excuse would have seemed a valid one to Elizabethans, for the traitorous friends had been privy to a plot for compassing the ruin of one of the royal blood, and the rightful heir to the throne. Horatio is astonished that these two fellow-students should be let go straight to their fate. Hamlet says—

"Why, man, they did make love to this employment;  
They are not near my conscience; their defeat  
Does by their own insinuation grow."

Hamlet does not doom these traitors to death in madness; it is not madness that makes him spare the king's life until he can think that the murder will plunge him into hell. He is frenzied for the moment when he kills Polonius, behind the arras, believing that Claudius is listening there, nervously overwrought, and in the overwhelming horror of the Ghost's revelation, striving for self-control, until, in the tumult of heart and brain, he seems unbalanced and hysterical, but never, even for a moment mad. The "madness" that he alludes to, in his pathetic words to Laertes, is evidenced in these episodes. It is the loss of that habitual balance which he admires so much in Horatio, who is never passion's slave. "Passion's slave" at times, Hamlet is. In this consists his madness.

Hamlet is essentially noble; he may decline from the law, but he knows, loves and respects it. Claudius, on the other hand, being a man of parts, knows and hates it; he sins and trembles before God, but before man he is every inch a king, in spite of Hamlet's passionate exaggeration of his defects. He accepts evil with open eyes. He would be virtuous, if virtue could be reconciled with friendship for the world, the flesh and the devil. He would be good, if he were not compelled to make satisfaction for evil done to his neighbor. Luther's comfortable doctrine about works had not been preached in Shakspeare's Denmark. Claudius is no mere king of shreds and patches,

though some of the commentators and most of the actors make him so;—as they make an arrant fool or a comic knave of Polonius who was an accomplished Euphuist and a clever prime minister.

It is impossible to enjoy the play as a clear and logical work without keeping in mind that it was written for the theatre, acted under the direction of Shakspeare, and made actual by what the stage-manager in our time would call "business." And this "business" the technical direction for the dumb show or the actions suited to the word, which elucidates the meaning of speech,—must have been as delicately and carefully considered as is every line in the text. The record of this "business" we have lost, and the loss is irreparable. If it existed, the student who looks on "Hamlet" as a text detached from dramatic action would not have had matters so much his own way, and the actor who derives most of his traditions from the practice of other actors of no greater knowledge than himself, would not cause intelligent lovers of Shakspeare to wish that "Hamlet" might never be degraded by the glare of the footlights. Nevertheless, the impulse of the actor to cause the Play to be as obvious as possible has wrought good results. He knows what our critics do not seem always to know, that no accomplished playwright wants to obscure the processes or the objects of his drama, or to convert an "acting play," into an elusive study as Orphic as one of Richard Strauss's symphonic poems. He may,—and he generally does,—neglect every other character in the play to round out that of the Prince; but at his worst, he must regard the action as well as the words. His consciousness of an audience that does not care to think forces him to present effectively what the student refines, re-refines, and over-refines in his closet. Hamlet, with him, is a man, not a mind divorced from a man, and he has not such a superstitious regard for the text that he will allow words to stand merely as words which have no meaning, if not illumined by gesture or facial expression. He makes mistakes at times; in his passion for effects, he overleaps truth,—as when, after the death of Polonius, he weeps and groans in most unprincely fashion. Hamlet says,—

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"For this same Lord  
I do repent, But heaven hath pleased it so,  
To punish me with this and this with me  
That I must be their scourge and minister."

At the end of this most dramatic scene, Hamlet "drags in the body of Polonius"—the Queen hurrying away by another<sup>1</sup> door. The actor who should coolly and cruelly obey the stage direction, would bring upon himself the hisses of the auditors and destroy all sympathy for Hamlet, unless it is presumed that he had suddenly become insane. The text of the interview between Hamlet and his mother ought to render that supposition out of the question, although Gertrude, horrified by the effect of the Ghost's appearance on her son,—

"This is the very coinage of your brain,  
This bodiless creation ecstasy  
Is very cunning in."

She does not see her husband, Hamlet's father, "in his habit as he lived," come to hold the Prince by the bonds of love, to his "almost blunted purposes." "Taint not thy mind," the spirit of the King, suffering, unpurged of crimes, not great in the eyes of men, but "foul" before the purity of God, has said. And now,—not as a king, not as an outraged patriot, seeing with clear eyes that sin is corrupting Denmark, and that the roots of the cancer must be torn out by Hamlet,—but as a suppliant for the soul of the Queen, he comes. That the "illusion was no illusion in the modern sense is shown by the stage direction in the First Folio,—'Enter the Ghost.' " That the Ghost was no hallucination in the beginning of the play, Shakspeare takes pains to prove by the testimony of the soldiers, and, more convincing than all, by the evidence of the clear-minded Horatio. As Hamlet was not mad, the dragging in of Polonius could not have been the only "business" set down for Hamlet after the exit of his mother; and, "severally" is not sufficiently definite. The actor, whose instinct is true, sees this, and supplies the "business" to save the situation. At times he is intemperate,—there have been actors who grovelled

<sup>1</sup> "Exeunt severally; Hamlet dragging in the body of Polonius."

at the feet of Polonius and howled with grief in the most unprincipally manner and unphilosophical fashion. The student does not, as a rule, weep at all, or conceive that Hamlet could have wept. He takes the text as it stands, and Hamlet, instead of for the moment assuming a coldness that he does not feel to impress the Queen with the surety of his purpose, becomes brutal in madness. Much of the text of Shakspeare, which seems inconsistent, and is therefore held to have deep and even occult meaning by isolated students simply needs the theatrical "business"—not set down in the first Folio or the Quartos,—to be clear and inconsistent. In minor passages this is very plain. For instance in the First Act when the Ghost passes, and Horatio cries out,—

"I'll cross it though it blast me,"

the "business" explanatory of this is differently interpreted by actors, and though great play is made with the cross-handles of the swords in the swearing scene, the usual method is for Horatio merely to cross the path of the Ghost. The famous romantic player, Fechter, made the sign of the cross, and, as the Ghost did not flinch—as it would have done, had it been an evil spirit,—he went on with his truly Christian appeal to a spirit in a process of purgation:

"If there be any good thing to be done,  
That may to thee do ease and grace to me,  
Speak to me;  
If thou art privy to thy country's fate,  
Which, happily, foreknowing may avoid,  
O, speak!"

What the actor of the Ghost did in Shakspeare's time, we have no means of knowing. The "business" accompanying Hamlet's

"Look here, upon this picture and on this"

is not even so important, yet it is sometimes a piece of very gross exaggeration. It will never be possible for an actor to insert the "business" in the grave-diggers' scene as described by M. de la Baume Desdosses, when he said that the author

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"fait jouer à la boule avec des têtes de mort sur le théâtre." The bowling with death's heads on the stage might easily be introduced to exemplify Hamlet's allusion to the old game of "loggats" by the performers who wanted to accentuate the Gothic and grim humor of the Clowns. Knight smiles at the statement of the exquisite M. Desdosset, and yet some of the "business" introduced by the theatrical grave-diggers is not less grotesque;—and who can conclude that it is really out of keeping in the awful contrast Shakspeare makes? There is, as I have said, the evidence of no prompters' books to the contrary. The taste of the time is the only limit one can set to the grotesque in Shakspeare or in any author of this period. It is evident from the text that the spirit of Shakspeare is against exaggeration of any kind, and the taste of our time is with him. The actor of to-day runs a great risk when, as Laertes, he stands over the body of Ophelia, saturated with the water of the pool and bound by clinging plants, and says,—

"Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia,  
And therefore I forbid my tears; but yet  
It is our trick; nature her custom holds,  
Let shame say what it will; when these are gone,  
The woman will be out."

Often these lines are omitted, and with reason. The actor is on delicate ground, in uttering what, in our time, seems a bombastic exaggeration. We cannot tell whether Shakspeare softened his rhetoric by "business." At any rate, we can be sure that they were delivered, under Shakspeare's direction, so that they could in no way interfere with the pathos of the moment. The modesty of nature seems to be outraged by them, as they stand in cold print; but who can say that, from the actor's point of view,—which was also Shakspeare's—they were not so presented that, even to-day they would not have offended our taste? In most of our modern plays, every direction is carefully written—no doubt is left by the author in the mind of the reader as to the exact position of any character at any given time on the stage. But these minute directions do not appear in the "reading" edition of the play,—though, as a rule, the literary quality of modern plays is so poor, that

nobody cares to read them. They are arranged for the stage, and when they disappear from the stage, their value likewise disappears. They exist, like the score of an opera by Verdi, or a symphony of Beethoven, only when they are interpreted.

Shakspeare's meaning suffers when his plays are read as if they were intended merely to be read. A poet of the first class, and, consequently, a transfigurer of life, an interpreter of the fundamentals and universals of human character, he chose the form of expression most adapted to the feeling and taste of his time. It has been noticed many times that the limitations of the Elizabethan Play House forced him to adopt a method more akin to that of the modern novelist, than that of the modern playwright. His characters tell us, in their speeches, many things of local and temporal import which, in the modern play are indicated, through the change in the theatrical apparatus, to the sight. The Queen's description of the death of Ophelia, and the poetic expression of Jaques' reveries would be mere "words, words, words," to the theatrical writer of the present day who uses words, in order to make pictures as seldom as possible. When Gower enters, at the beginning of the fifth act of "Pericles," he asks the auditors to do what the novelist often asks his readers to do—to "make believe," to "suppose."

"In your supposing once more put your sight,  
Of heavy Pericles think this his bark,  
Where what is done in action, more, if might,  
Shall be discovered; please you sit and hark."

The audience of to-day neither "supposes" nor "sits and harks." It sits and sees. Shakspeare could not adopt his plays to the modern theatre without destroying their literary value. At the same time, they would have lost their power of appeal to the folk of his time, were they literature only, and not dumb show, at times, and very vigorous action as well.

The characters of Regan and Goneril in "King Lear" seem to be monsters of evil without any attractive traits. They are so wicked that many lovers of Shakspeare have classed them as theatrical puppets created as foils to Cordelia. And it must be confessed that the bare text gives this impression,

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for there are few phrases concerning them that suggest to the imagination that they are more than twin creatures wedded, unhumanly, to sin. Edmund, too, seems unhuman,—a thing of no compunction, a pawn of the author's to bring out one of the emphatic lessons of the play that sin blinds us to the truth,—that both Lear and Gloucester suffered because, wedded to their pet sins, their minds had grown so darkened that they could not distinguish truth from falsehood. But neither Regan nor Goneril is a mere puppet. Regan and Goneril differ in attributes. Albany calls Goneril "a gilded serpent"; and, on this hint, the actor should build. Goneril and Regan are too often treated as evil twins, in no way different, except in their love for Edmund. As for Edmund, he is most dependent on the actor, the text is full of subtle hints, not always considered by either the reader or the personater. Edgar says,—

"The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices  
Make instruments to plague us;  
The dark and vicious place where he thee got  
Cost him his eyes."

And Edmund replies,—

"Thou hast spoken right, 'tis true,  
The wheel has come full circle; I am here."

Dying, Edmund goes back, in triumph, to his sin again,—

"Yet Edmund was belov'd;  
The one the other poisoned for my sake,  
And after slew herself."

Edmund is a character created for the actor, and it requires all the art of artful actors to interpret his subtlety. The puzzle-questions as to Edmund—is he an atheist?—is he not a mere creature of circumstances?—become quite plain when Edmund appears in flesh and blood, with a will to choose nature as his goddess, and a belief, at least in nature's law. Iago himself, a self-degraded and super-subtile soul, is, too, only human in the actor's hands. His plottings, read in cold blood on the printed page, make him seem to be simply a devil, sojourning for a time on earth in human form.

On the other hand, the theatre has a way of being careful in minor details, which are often stifling to the imagination, and careless in more important things not considered by a certain class of modern novels. A manager who prides himself on the minutiae of a gondola in "The Merchant of Venice" or on the fidelity to detail in the view of a Venetian street in "Othello" will cut out those most important lines in the speech of the Ghost in "Hamlet,"—

"Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled."

The seem unimportant to that reader of Shakspeare who cannot conceive,—being without present knowledge or historical data,—their terrible meaning

"Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled  
No reckoning made, but sent to my account,  
With all my imperfections on my head;  
O, horrible! O, horrible! most horrible!"

The spirit's heart-wrung exclamation is that he died without the last sacraments, disappointed of his rights as a Christian, unshriven, without Extreme Unction. The statement affects Hamlet terribly; we learn it later in the play. Hamlet broods on it, and he does not keep in mind that the Ghost is not a lost soul, though suffering the pains of purgation; that he thinks only of those pains we know well from his soliloquy over the praying Claudius. Less archæology and more art,—more attention to the conditions of minds in the Play would do away with the aspersion that the theatre, in the United States, at least, has "no historical sense."

The accent laid by the spirit of the elder Hamlet on his loss of the rites of the Church had its value, we may be sure to the auditors of the Globe Theatre. It has its value to-day, not only to persons who have the "historical sense," but to many who can see—whether we admit that Shakspeare's conception of the Ghost was strictly theological or not—that he realized what was meant by the cutting off of a Christian soul from its rights. Again, the Polonius of the modern theatre is a cross between a knave and a fool. It is true that Hamlet calls him a fool, but Hamlet, in his fits of passion, is not to be trusted. His

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picture of his uncle, for instance,—“Hyperion to a satyr”—and his underrating the qualities of a courageous, cool, highly intellectual, but deliberately bad man, as Claudius was, ought to show the representators that Hamlet’s estimate of Polonius should be taken only as the estimate of an overwrought, almost maddened and supersensitive soul. Polonius was shrewd; a closer study of the Euphuists and the influences that made him possible, would prevent the actors,—or the managers,—from misrepresenting his creator’s idea.

In the “Chorus” of the first act of “Henry V,” when Shakspeare despairs of crowding the splendid pageant of Agincourt into the Theatre, he exclaims against the limits of the stage,—

“Can this cockpit hold  
The vasty fields of France? or may we cram  
Within this wooden O the very casques  
That did affright the air at Agincourt?  
O, pardon! since a crooked figure may  
Attest in little place a million;  
And let us, ciphers to this great accompt,  
On your imaginary forces work.  
Suppose within the girdle of these walls  
Are now confined two mighty monarchies,  
Whose high upreared and abutting fronts  
The perilous narrow ocean parts asunder:  
Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts;  
Into a thousand parts divide one man,  
And make imaginary puissance;  
Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them  
Printing their proud hoofs i’ the receiving earth.”

As a rule, Shakspeare adapts his dramas to the bounds of his theatrical world without any evident dissatisfaction with them. In fact, if his means of satisfying the sight had been greater, our pleasure in reading his plays would be less.

No better example can be found in “Hamlet” of the loss the student suffers from the absence of the “business” used by the actors in the days of Elizabeth and James than in the first scene of the third Act. Hamlet has unveiled his doubtful mind, and suddenly he sees Ophelia. A flood of sudden tenderness sweeps over his heart. “Soft you now!” he says.

"The fair Ophelia! Nymph, in thy orisons  
Be all my sins remembered."

It almost seems as if the wide-spread delusion that Hamlet is really mad was founded mainly on this scene,—for here, unless some adequate reason for his suspicion of Ophelia's truth could be given to the auditors, he seems to be not only mad, but possessed of a brutal and sullen devil. It is enough for the close student of the play to believe, after careful comparison of various parts of the text,—that Hamlet had come to distrust all women and that he was vowed "to wipe away all trivial fond records"; but it is not enough for the average auditor, and we may be sure that there was some "business" arranged to explain obviously the Prince's outburst of wrath, after a moment, too, of extreme tenderness. The stage direction is simply "exeunt King and Polonius." But where do they go for their "lawful espial?" Behind the arras? Into a gallery at the back of "a room in the castle"? The author sees that their presence must be made known to Hamlet, in order that he may have an excuse for acting the part of madness with such brutality. He must have some plain proof that Ophelia is playing upon him for the benefit of her father, and the auditors,—according to the usage of the stage,—must know that he has this proof; therefore, it is the custom, in many stage presentments of the Play, to reveal accidentally, for a moment, the presence of the King and Polonius. The insults of Hamlet,—excusable only in a madman or one feigning madness,—are directed then, not at the fair and gentle Ophelia, but at the listeners.

"I did love once," he says with a breaking voice, and he adds, remembering, "I love you not."

"I was the more deceived," Ophelia answers gently.

Then Hamlet, fearing his own weakness, frightens Ophelia with his accusations against himself. Her gentle face appeals to him, and puts her to the test,—

"Where's your father?"

"At home, my lord."

There is no relenting after that. He loves her still, but he knows that she has deceived him. To the winds he flings his

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wrath; the listeners must believe him mad, and she—"frailty, thy name is woman!"

Considered as a play, treated as actors of intelligence, who desired simply to bring out its meaning, would treat it, "Hamlet" ceases to be a puzzle. It must be remembered, however, that, until the "historical sense" is cultivated in the theatres, light thrown on certain passages by the actor's instinct and insight will not pierce other passages equally worthy of illumination.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

## HARNACK AND HIS CRITICS.

Since the days of Strauss and Renan no other book has so deeply stirred the world of theological thought as Harnack's work on the essence of Christianity—"Das Wesen des Christentums."<sup>1</sup> The lectures which make up the volume were designed to give a clear and concise account of the Christian religion, to show what it was in itself and what in the vicissitudes of history it has become, and to define its bearing on the pressing problems of the day. Although three years have passed since the lectures were delivered, the interest aroused by them has been steadily on the increase. In Germany alone nearly thirty thousand copies of the work have been sold. The book has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and wherever it has gone its appearance has been the signal for a storm of controversy.

The profound impression produced by this book is easily explained. Here we have in the compass of a few hundred pages the latest answer of modern critical study to the question, "What is Christianity?" In a little volume packed with thought and free from pedantry we have the ultimate convictions of a man who is widely regarded as the foremost critic of the age, writing on a subject to which he has devoted his life and which is a theme of perennial interest to all reflective minds. The book marks an epoch in religious speculation. It raises every momentous issue and sharply outlines every vital problem in the range of Christian belief; it passes judgment on almost every disputed point in the origin and history of the Christian faith. It is one of those books that from time to time compel men to take their theological bearings anew.

"Das Wesen des Christentums" is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the Gospel in itself—the origin of Christianity in the teaching of Christ; the second part deals with the Gospel in history—the historic development of Chris-

<sup>1</sup>"Das Wesen des Christentums." Von Adolf Harnack, Fünfte Auflage, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1902.

References are to the English translation of the work: "What is Christianity?" by Thomas Bailey Saunders, 2d ed., New York; Putnam's, 1901.

tianity in the ages. In both parts the aim is to arrive at the real message of Christ, to discover under alien accretions the innermost essence of Christianity, to find "the Gospel in the Gospels." All this is more commonly expressed in the formula rendered familiar to the public by Abbot, Harnack, Sabatier and Gardner: to separate the kernel from the husk. The first part of the work is that to which critics have chiefly devoted their attention, because it contains the latest word of higher criticism on the essence of Christ's message, and because on the conception which we form of the meaning of this message must depend the value of the judgments that we formulate on the development of the Church, of its dogma and worship.

As authorities for Christ's teaching Harnack accepts only the Synoptics—"Everything that we know independently of the Gospels about Jesus' history and His teaching may be easily put on a small sheet of paper, so little does it come to" (p. 21). The first three Gospels, he concedes, are substantially reliable; they are not, indeed, historical works in the consecrated sense of the term, but neither are they "party tracts." The scholarship of two generations has undone the work of Baur and Strauss and restored in its main outline the credibility of these documents. We now know that they belong to "the palæontological age" of Christianity. They embody, it is true, miracle narratives, but to reject documents simply because they contain such "unhistorical elements" would be "a piece of prejudice." All that is needful is to separate the kernel of fact from the husk of miracle, and this may be done by a comparison of sources and by the exercise of the critical faculty. "Do not let yourselves be deterred because this or that miraculous story strikes you as strange or leaves you cold. If there is anything here that you find unintelligible, put it quietly aside" (p. 32).

With the Gospels Harnack professes to deal simply and solely as a historian. He enunciates, however, a principle which is hardly a historical assumption and which is prophetic of difficulties to come. The Gospel in itself, he avers, is "simple"; so simple is it that "no one who possesses a fresh eye for what is alive and a true feeling for what is really

great, can fail to see it and distinguish it from its contemporary integument" (p. 15). We shall see to what use Harnack puts this principle. Meantime it is not clear how in respect of method he differs from Tolstoi, who in his rough and ready way decides offhand what Jesus said and did, or from Schmiedel who can discover only nine absolutely credible passages in the Gospels.

It is on the question of miracles that Harnack's critics first join issue with him.<sup>1</sup> Harnack rejects miracles: "We are firmly convinced that what happens in space and time is subject to the general laws of motion, and that in this sense, as an interruption of the order of nature, there can be no such thing as miracles" (p. 28). The Gospel miracles, in particular, he finds beset by special difficulties, for miracle as it is now understood was wholly foreign to the minds of the fisher-folk of Galilee. These simple people had no clear conception of what a miracle is because they had no clear conception of what a law of nature means. They were men of their time, having no adequate idea of what is possible and what is impossible. Hence miracles, which once attested the truth of the Christian religion, have become serious stumbling blocks to faith.

Harnack's critics do not waste time in discussing the question whether the ancients understood that there is an order of nature—the importance which men of Christ's day attached to miracles seems to be a sufficient answer. They hasten to point out that in discarding miracles Harnack involves himself in an illogical compromise. That Strauss and Renan should have given short shrift to miracles is intelligible; the one was a Hegelian, the other a Positivist, and both frankly investigated the origin of Christianity in the light of their philosophical systems. But that Harnack should be convinced that miracles do not happen is not so easily understood, for Harnack holds that the world of nature and the world of history are under the rule of Divine intelligence. He will admit that, in Kant's famous phrase, man is a member of a kingdom of ends; he protests that we are not shut up within a blind and

<sup>1</sup> Walther: "Ad. Harnack's Das Wesen des Christentums," Leipzig, 1901.

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brutal course of nature. But to acknowledge that a God exists who rules and governs and who may be moved by prayer, and to be convinced that there can be no such things as miracles—this seems to be a strange compromise between naturalism and supernaturalism. It is felt that whoever holds Christianity to be non-miraculous abandons what ultimately distinguishes historical Christianity from impersonal theism. Moreover, on the assumption that God can visit His people—an assumption which cannot be set aside by one who emphatically denies that we are yoked to an inexorable necessity—miracles, so far from being improbable, become eminently probable. Indeed, granted that the Incarnation is a fact, there is only one miracle to be accounted for; all the rest are only accompaniments, the absence of which would have been still more wonderful than their presence. The strange thing would be that Christ, being what He claimed to be, did not perform “works none other did,” whether as credentials of His claims or as the simple outpouring of His majestic Personality.

Again, when Harnack puts miracles aside he invokes at the outset of his inquiry a philosophical principle that decides questions at issue before historical criticism can be brought to bear on them. Whether an event has taken place or not must be determined, not on *a priori* grounds, but on the testimony of those who are competent to bear witness. Thus, whether Christ was born at Bethlehem in the manner described in the Gospel of St. Luke is a matter of evidence; it must be determined according to methods adopted by such men as Ramsay, not according to methods pursued by those who set aside the infancy narrative because they have already eliminated God from history. When, therefore, Harnack states his conviction that miracles do not happen, he formulates a principle that even his vast knowledge of antiquity does not teach him, and that vitiates, or rather renders superfluous, any discussion of the most vital problems of Christianity.

Further, it is asked: how can Harnack give up miracles and logically stand for the historical character of the writings that embody them? The Gospels are homogeneous documents. They present throughout a most august idea of the super-

natural, and constitute from the first word to the last a consistent history of One who "did mighty works because God was with Him." They exhibit a sanity and sobriety of statement that in other documents would be taken for a guarantee of truth, and the miracles which they report are at least as soundly attested as any other events in the biography of Jesus. By what right, then, does Harnack distinguish in such documents two strata, one historical, the other unhistorical? How can he, without tearing the Gospels to shreds, remove from them miracles, woven, as the miracles are, into their very web and fibre? Even Strauss was more logical than Harnack in this matter, for Strauss saw the futility of trying to save the historical character of the documents while repudiating miracles: "If the Gospels in general be admitted as historical, it is impossible to eliminate miracles from the life of Jesus." In view of the difficulties in which Harnack so cheerfully involves himself by shelving miracles, we are painfully struck by the flippancy of his exegetical canon: "If there is anything here that you find unintelligible, put it quietly aside."

Harnack next falls foul of his critics on the question of the Fourth Gospel. In any discussion of sources this burning topic at once presents itself. What Harnack thinks of the much debated document is well known. He has worked his way back to the traditional date of the Gospel: "not after 110 and not before 80." He is not, however, willing to ascribe it to the pen of St. John; he is still less willing to take it as an historical authority in the ordinary sense of the term. Indeed, "it can hardly make any claim to be considered an authority for Jesus' history" (p. 22). The author was probably John the Presbyter, a younger contemporary and disciple of St. John. Whoever he was, "the author acted with sovereign freedom, transposed events and put them in a strange light, drew up the discourses himself and illustrated great thoughts by imaginary situations" (p. 21).

Against such a summary dismissal of the Fourth Gospel several competent authorities have taken the field. Professor Sanday enters an "emphatic protest" against what he terms

<sup>1</sup> "Leben Jesu" (1864, p. 18).

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"the sweeping and unjust language" of the German professor.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gore, after reviewing the present state of the Johannine problem, avers that there is to-day less reason for rejecting the Gospel than there was a generation ago.<sup>2</sup> Others point to the unbroken ranks of authorities who defend the substantial authenticity of the book and who belong to all schools of thought, liberal as well as conservative. Harnack's critics do not blink the difficulties which arise from contrasting the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptics. They are wide awake to the differences of scene and theme and style—to the change from Galilee to Judea, from simple chronicles and parables to discourses on life and light and truth. They make full allowance for the apparent discrepancies which seem to show that the writer of the Fourth Gospel was reminting his materials rather than narrating what he had seen with his eyes and gazed upon and handled with his hands. But they appeal confidently to the external evidence which does not grow less cogent with the discovery of new fragments of early Christian literature. They appeal with no less confidence to the internal evidence which indicates in many ways that the Gospel is the story of one who knew whereof he wrote, and who, besides, possessed a large conception of the significance of what he saw. The very contrast which is the only real objection to the Gospel does not, they argue, weaken, if it does not strengthen, the cause for Apostolic authorship. It reveals that the purpose of the writer was to supplement what had been written, and to afford a deeper insight into the words and deeds of Christ—to give a view of our Lord's life from within that all may know "that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." Hence it is that what is of common tradition is passed over in silence, what is obscure in the Synoptics becomes clear, what is latent there takes shape in the great "spiritual Gospel." The sense in which Christ fulfilled the prophecies is more amply illustrated; the claims which Christ made are expanded; the filial relation is more abundantly explained; in a word, the underlying thought of the first three Gospels is

<sup>1</sup> "An Examination of Harnack's 'What is Christianity?'" London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1901, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *The Pilot* (London), February 22, and March 1, 1902.

elaborated with a wealth of detail. The story that John tells is the old story newly told—told by one who, as he moves among the scenes which he describes, looks for the spiritual significance of it all. The picture of Christ is the old picture—painted too from life, but by one who consciously strove to bring out the Divine lineaments of the Saviour. The Fourth Gospel stills holds its place as the crown and culmination of the Synoptics and as the only explanation of the life and thought of the early church. "With it, and not without it we can attain to some consistent notion of what Christ was and did."<sup>5</sup> And with it also, and not without it, does the history of the early days of Christianity become intelligible.

A French critic of "*Das Wesen des Christentums*" points out that what separates Catholic scholars from Protestant theologians of the liberal school lies not so much in divergences of exegesis as in the philosophical principles with which they respectively approach the study of the Scriptures.<sup>6</sup> This seems to hold true in the present instance, for, as Professor Sanday says, "the real objection to the Fourth Gospel is an objection to the supernatural generally." It can hardly be doubted, at all events, that in handling the Johannine problem Harnack has laid himself open to the charge which he so lightly levelled against the writer of the Gospel: he has certainly "acted with sovereign freedom."

In setting forth the teaching of Christ in systematic form Harnack chooses three central ideas. These are: the Kingdom of God and its coming; God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul; the Higher Righteousness and the law of love. These ideas taken collectively or singly, he maintains, contain the sum and substance of Christ's message. "They are each of such a nature as to contain the whole" (p. 55). It will be enough, therefore, to consider the first "category" of the Christian religion.

From time immemorial the conception of the Kingdom of God was deeply rooted in the consciousness of Israel—early in its career the nation had become a theocracy in the true sense of the word. Hence, the history of Old Testament Revelation

<sup>5</sup> Strong, "Historical Christianity," London, Henry Frowde, 1902.

<sup>6</sup> Père Léonce de Grandmaison in *Études*, March, 1902.

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is justly said to be a history of the Kingdom of God developing among a people ever mindful of its unique destiny as a people chosen by God. The Kingdom of God was variously conceived in the varying fortunes of the race, but it never lost its essential character as a Kingdom of Righteousness. In the prophecies and the psalms we come upon the most sublime, because the most spiritual, conception of the divine commonwealth. In later Judaism the notion became despiritualized, so that in the age immediately preceding the coming of Christ it was largely a vision of national blessedness—"a dream of apocrypha and apocalypses."

In the New Testament the Kingdom of God occupies a place no less prominent than that which it held in the Old Testament. Indeed, Christ made it the burden of His preaching—His first words struck the keynote of His message to men: "Repent, the Kingdom of God is at hand." His Gospel was "the Gospel of the Kingdom"; the Kingdom was the theme that He put on the lips of the disciples when He sent them forth to preach—"And going preach saying the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." It was the secret of the Kingdom He explained to His disciples to whom "it was given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of God." It was around the same doctrine the parables centered; the laws of the Kingdom were formulated in the Sermon on the Mount. The coming of the Kingdom was the most devout aspiration of all who prayed as He taught men to pray. Christ's last commission was in keeping with His great message—it was virtually to push forward the frontiers of His Kingdom to the uttermost bounds of the earth.

The doctrine of the Kingdom Harnack explains in accordance with his principle that "God and the Soul, the Soul and God," is the whole content of the Gospel. The Kingdom of God as taught by Christ is simply the communion of the soul with God—"the inner link with the living God." It is "a purely spiritual blessing" permeating and dominating the whole existence of the individual. The Kingdom of God as it has been commonly understood, with its consummation in the hereafter, Harnack sets aside. Such a view is the "traditional" view, current in the Old Testament and common in the

days of Christ. It is the husk, the kernel being the communion of the individual soul with God.

Harnack's method of interpreting a doctrine which he takes to contain the whole of Christ's teaching has been received with much surprise. To reject as husk what is traditional, simply because it is traditional, and to retain as kernel what is Christ's own in Christ's message, is regarded as a novel and arbitrary canon of exegesis. It appears the more arbitrary when we reflect that the new order introduced by Christ emerged from the old, for Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfill. The Kingdom of God, therefore, which He placed in the forefront of His preaching, simply embodies the spiritual elements of the commonwealth foreshadowed by the men of old time. It begins, indeed, with the individual, inasmuch as it is a principle of divine rule working in the hearts of men, working from within outward, and working to transform life and all its varied relations. But this is only the Kingdom in its beginnings. It is also an external reality, a society developing slowly, according to the rhythmic law of growth, into a world-wide communion of those who hold communion with God through Christ. The scene of the Kingdom of God is now not the individual soul of man but all humanity—"the field is the world." And yet, this earthly Kingdom which has come upon men is only the counterpart of an eternal Kingdom of God—that "eternal life" of which Christ spoke to the young man who had great possessions. This is the true Kingdom of God. It is the goal towards which the individual is striving and in which alone communion with God is consummated. It is also the culmination of the royal rule of God in the world—the final realization of the reign of God on earth. It will be inaugurated with a judgment, "that day" which was so often on the lips of Christ, when the Son of Man shall come in the glory of His Father with the angels, to reward every man according to his works. And thus the Kingdom of God is to see God both now and hereafter; now as sons by faith, then as sons in possession of their inheritance.<sup>1</sup>

If Harnack is properly censured for rejecting as husk what was traditional in Christ's message of the Kingdom, he is no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Robertson's "*Regnum Dei*." London, 1902.

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less justly criticised for identifying the Kingdom of God with the reconciliation of the individual soul with the Father. Nowhere in the New Testament does this "inner link" exhaust the complex content of Christ's great message to the world; nowhere is the reconciliation anything more than the condition of admission to the Kingdom. The text upon which Harnack lays so much stress in support of his view: "the Kingdom of God cometh not with observation . . . the Kingdom of God is within you" (Luke, XVII, 20, 21), is susceptible, as is well known, of an interpretation other than that which Harnack gives it. And even if the words identified the Kingdom with "a still and mighty power in the hearts of men" there are many other passages which are more clear and which round out the full conception of the Kingdom as Christ preached it. To lay the burden of proof upon a text which may be interpreted in different ways, and to sacrifice the rest of the Gospel to the interpretation of such a text—this is what Abbé Loisy calls going against the most elementary principles of criticism.

It is upon the problem of Christology that theological interest chiefly turns; Harnack's answer to this question of questions is in keeping with the Ritschlian principle that bars metaphysics out of religion. A doctrine of Christ's Person, he holds, forms no part of Christ's Gospel: "The Gospel as Jesus proclaimed it is a Gospel of the Father, not of the Son." Jesus was a man, feeling, praying, toiling, struggling, suffering like other men, making no claims for Himself, exacting no faith in His own Person—such is Harnack's Christology. True, Jesus claimed to be the Messiah; so much the Berlin professor concedes against Wellhausen, but what he gives with one hand he takes back with the other: Jesus claimed to be the Messiah simply because it was necessary to do so in order to gain recognition within the lines of Jewish history. True, also, Jesus claimed to be the son of God; but this title in turn Harnack empties of significance. "Son of God" does not mean that Jesus claimed to be the divine Son of a divine father: "rightly understood the name of Son means nothing but the knowledge of God" (p. 138). To support his interpretation of a phrase which has been a standing formula for the divinity of Christ, Harnack turns to the classic text of Matthew: "No

man knoweth the Son save the Father: neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him." From this passage Harnack concludes: "the consciousness which He possessed of being the Son of God, is, therefore, nothing but the practical consequence of knowing God as the Father and as His Father" (p. 138). Needless to say, exegesis so arbitrary has provoked the sharpest criticism. Abbé Lagrange asks whether the Fatherhood of God is constituted by knowledge of the Son as the Sonship of Jesus is said to be constituted by knowledge of the Father.<sup>1</sup> The text which Harnack has mishandled has always been regarded as an incomparable expression of the intimacy, the absolute intercommunion existing between Father and Son; to stint and limit the content of it as Harnack does is to do injustice to the plain meaning of the words as they stand. To this same passage Justin appealed of old as proving Christ to be "the first begotten of God who submitted to become man." Even some of Harnack's forebears and compeers, as little trammelled as he by reverence for tradition, have always found in it much more than the human consciousness which Christ had of the Father. It would seem, therefore, that once more Harnack has "acted with sovereign freedom," and that in a matter of vital moment.

He has, moreover, left entirely out of account the startling claims which Christ made and which obviously should be reckoned with in a chapter on Christology. Wherever we open the first Three Gospels we come upon claims which are intelligible only on the ground that Christ stood in a supremely unique relation to the Father. Jesus fulfills the law and the prophets. He is the Saviour of souls. He is the final Judge of human actions and human motives. He forgives sin. He is the supreme and final Revealer of truth. With a word He sweeps away whole enactments of legislation regarded as divine. He makes demands on men's minds and consciences, such as no one had ever dared to make. He promises rewards for deeds done in His name. He is to be loved by all and above all. He is to be worshipped. Claims such as these—

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Biblique Internationale*, January, 1901.

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and they are only some of the claims put forward by Christ—are in ill accord with the assertion that a doctrine of Christ's Person finds no place in the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> They are claims that could have been put forward only by One who was conscious of a higher Sonship than that with which Harnack is content—by One who had the inherent right to concentrate upon Himself the reverence of humanity, and to exalt Himself far above the message which He brought. They show that, as Von Hartmann says, the essence of Christianity is in the Person of Christ if anywhere at all, and they prove that a Christianity such as Harnack has assayed from the Gospel—a Christianity without a Christology—is not the Gospel as Christ taught it. Fairbairn voices the conviction of scholars when he says: "Jesus in asking 'whom say ye that I am?' consciously confesses that His religion will be as His Person is conceived to be."<sup>2</sup>

Harnack is positive that no doctrine of Christ's Person is to be found in the Gospel, and yet he finds such a "doctrine" there. He bases his view on a single text—a vice of exegesis that was supposed to be the apanage of a certain class of theologians. He leaves out of account a score of passages which even the most critical of the critical could not ignore, and which manifestly assume a Filiation far transcending the Sonship of his interpretation. Such exegesis as this will not enhance Harnack's reputation for scholarship; it surely exposes him to a suspicion which is the last that a historian should be willing to incur.

Jesus "was declared to be the Son of God with power by the Resurrection from the dead." To the Resurrection, then, Harnack turns, as must every historian who deals with the essence of Christianity.

The New Testament, Harnack asserts, distinguishes between the Easter Message and the Easter Faith (p. 173). The Easter Message is the empty grave and the appearances of Jesus; the Easter Faith is the conviction that Jesus "lives as the first fruits of those who are fallen asleep." Now, he says, the story of the empty tomb must be set aside. No eye rested

<sup>1</sup> Köhler: *Gehört Jesus in das Evangelium?* Leipzig, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 395.



upon the Resurrection—a few women and disciples “looked into” the sepulchre and believed that the resting place was empty. Then rumors began to rise and men and women took to seeing visions. It was upon the appearances, not the empty grave, that the apostles laid stress, and of these appearances it is impossible to construct a clear and consistent account: “Who of us can maintain that a clear account of these appearances can be constructed out of the story told by Paul and the Evangelists; and if that be impossible, and there is no tradition of single events which is quite trustworthy, how is the Easter Faith to be based on them?” (p. 174).

And yet, he insists, we must cling to the Easter Faith although we reject the Easter Message; we must hold to faith in the Resurrection though not to the fact of the Resurrection. That Jesus lives does not depend on the story of the tomb and the appearances; it is certified for us by “the vision of Jesus’ life and death and by the feeling of His imperishable union with God” (p. 176). The New Testament itself, Harnack declares, requires belief in Christ’s triumph over death without the message of the vacant tomb. Were not the disciples on the road to Emmaus blamed for not believing in the Resurrection, even though the Easter Message had not reached them? Is not the story of Thomas told for the very purpose of reminding us that we must hold the Easter Faith even without the Easter Message? Did not Paul—who perhaps knew nothing about the empty grave—found his Easter Faith upon the certainty that “the Second Adam” was from heaven and upon an inner revelation coupled with vision?

It is obvious that Harnack’s views on miracles determine his views on the Resurrection: “if the Resurrection meant nothing but that a deceased body of flesh and blood came back to life, we should make short work of this tradition” (p. 173).

Now, passing over the fundamental prejudice against miracles with the remark that criticism does not tell us what may and may not happen, Harnack’s critics declare that his theory of the Resurrection ignores almost everything that needs to be explained and blunders in almost every explanation it offers. It ignores the despondency of the disciples which was deepest at the very moment when rumors of the

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Resurrection began to rise. It ignores their stubborn refusal to believe that the tomb was empty until they had entered into—not “looked into”—it, and their still more stubborn refusal to believe the first accounts of the Resurrection. It supposes too much in assuming that the disciples on the road to Emmaus had not heard of the Easter Message, for the news of the empty grave had reached them and they spoke of it. It supposes still more in asserting that Thomas was rebuked for refusing to believe, although he had not heard the Easter Message, for he was manifestly rebuked for his lack of faith despite all that he had heard concerning the Resurrection. As to Paul: the man who preached that Christ “was buried and rose again the third day,” who founded his proof for the Resurrection of the body on the Resurrection of Jesus, who enumerated the various appearances of the risen Christ—surely Paul is the last witness who should be called to bear out such a theory of the Resurrection as Harnack offers. Finally Harnack’s objection that no clear, consistent account can be constructed of the appearances of Christ is so trite that it is almost disregarded. Discrepancies in detail even when read, point to the substantial truth of a narrative and prove that there has been no collusion to tell the same story in the same way. Harnack’s entire treatment of the Gospel account of the Resurrection has proved a surprise both to friends and foes. It is taken as showing that a man may be a brilliant historian and yet a very indifferent exegete. The explanation he offers leaves the ancient dilemma where it stood: to deny the Resurrection of Christ is to intensify rather than relieve the mystery of His Personality. As Professor Swete very well says: “The intellectual difficulty of believing the Resurrection of our Lord’s Body to be a baseless story will always be greater than the intellectual difficulty of believing it to be a substantial fact.” The question, therefore, still remains to be answered by Harnack: “Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?”<sup>1</sup>

Into the second part of Harnack’s work there is no need to enter. Here he studies in the school of time how, as Lessing would say, the religion of Christ became the Christian religion.

<sup>1</sup> The Expository Times, February, 1903.

He interprets the history of the Church in the light of the "reduced" Gospel which he has found in the Gospels. It is a story of degeneration and decadence, of Hellenizing and Paganizing that he traces through the centuries. The history of the Church is, from his point of view, the history of one long blunder.<sup>1</sup>

The aim which Harnack kept in view throughout his lectures on the Essence of Christianity, was to make easy the path of faith for thousands who "would fain see Jesus" but who stumble at the fundamental facts of the Christian creed. In carrying out this purpose he has manifested the exalted spirit of reverence for which he is distinguished among the scholars of Europe; from time to time the historian becomes the impassioned pleader in behalf of Him who alone "satisfies the longing of which St. Augustine spoke," and Who, alone, is "the center of the religious history of the race." He makes his own the words of Goethe and writes upon them many a glowing page of commentary: "Let intellectual and spiritual culture progress, and the human mind expand as much as it will; beyond the grandeur and the moral elevation of Christianity as it sparkles and shines in the Gospels the human mind will not advance." If we shall hear no more of the crude and flippant methods of criticism which Strauss and Renan brought to bear upon the Gospels, if there is more reverent scholarship to-day in Berlin than at any previous time in the history of higher criticism, this is largely due to the "Mommсен of modern theology."

And yet, as the results of his work are more clearly seen in their proper perspective, the more plain does it become that he has not only failed in what he set out to accomplish, but has also given a cruel blow to the cause which he wished to serve. For Catholics "*Das Wesen des Christentums*" has a melancholy interest. In it they see the inevitable outcome of the Augsburg Confession which contained from the beginning, the potency of chaos.<sup>2</sup> They follow the German professor step by step, tracing as they go the influence of the theological bias which he brings to the study of the various problems. They take occasion to remind him that the very data upon which he

<sup>1</sup> *Der Katholik*, August, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Reinhold: *Das Wesen des Christentums*. Stuttgart und Wien, 1901.

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works have been given him by tradition; that the Gospel which he preaches is not the Gospel which Peter and Paul preached; that the Christ whom he depicts is not the Christ of the Gospels. They affirm once more that no man can separate Christ from His works—that the historical Christ is the miraculous Christ. The Evangelicals view Harnack's book with dismay; into their ranks he has carried consternation. They charge him with having betrayed the very citadel of Protestantism and undermined the foundations of belief. In pamphlet and pastoral conference they continue to condemn him, declaring that his lectures "meet the demands neither of history nor of the true Gospel, nor of human want." Only among Jews and infidels has Harnack's book found favor—for them the Berlin theologian has forged a weapon which they have not been slow to use. Like Schneider<sup>1</sup> of Mannheim they declare Harnack's lectures "a splendid justification of infidelity," or like Mehring,<sup>2</sup> the social democrat, they proclaim with exultation that Christianity has received its death blow in the house of its former friends.

It is among the bewildered souls for whom he wrote that Harnack's disastrous failure will be most evident. As they examine what he offers them as Christianity, they see a religion without creed, without miracle, without supernatural sanction or inspiration, without answer to the problems which vex the souls of men—without anything for the spiritual and intellectual demands of the age. Instead of a supernatural religion they find only the bare essentials of natural religion. For, to save Christianity Harnack has jettisoned the supernatural; it is as if to save a ship from foundering he would throw the engines overboard. The Christianity in which the world has any interest is Christianity with the Incarnation and the Resurrection; the Christ Whom men need is the Christ Who not only showed how a human life may be lived divinely, but also rose from the dead. Instead of the Christianity for which men crave, Harnack offers little more than what the Rationalism of the eighteenth century bequeathed; and instead of the Christ whose history began with a miracle and ended with a miracle,

<sup>1</sup> *Das Freie Wort*, 1901, Nr. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Neue Zeit*, 1900, Nr. 4.

he gives only one who was born as other men are born, and died as other men die. True, for some people he has, in this manner, removed difficulties from the path of faith, but he has done so only by leaving them nothing to believe in. The lectures on the essence of Christianity have eliminated everything that the world deemed essential to Christianity, and have left nothing in the place of what they have taken away.

The latest attempt to reconceive the Christ has ended as all such attempts in the past have ended. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century shadowy Christs have been floating before the eyes of men like the shadowy kings before the eyes of Macbeth. To this long line of unreal and unsubstantial Christs another has been added: like the rest it will vanish into thin air and leave behind nothing more than the memory of its presence.

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## OLD TESTAMENT CONCEPTS OF EARTHLY WELFARE.

The views of earthly possessions which spiritual guides and philosophic teachers take, must necessarily be governed by their ideas of a supra-earthly life. According to beliefs concerning the hereafter, the goods of this world must logically be regarded. In the light of these views they will be held either as desirable in themselves—an end to be striven for and fully enjoyed in the brief span of human life—or, on the other hand, by reason of their use or abuse, as mere helps or hindrances to a future existence far above the plane of material pleasures. So, too, the popular attitude must be tinged, at least on its theoretic side, by the conviction of the masses concerning retribution beyond the grave. Even though rigid consistency be wanting, as is often the case, there is a close and necessary relation between the eschatologies of a people and its religious leaders, and the mental attitudes of the same towards material goods. Therefore, to comprehensively know and justly estimate the views on this point of both the Hebrew people and their spiritual teachers, as expressed in the Old Testament, we must glance at Hebrew eschatology in its various phases. In order, moreover, that Israelitic attitudes towards property may have their historical settings, and because they not only reflect but were influenced by the existing economic conditions, a brief account of the material status of Israel in the various periods of its national life will be useful and pertinent.

### I. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL CONDITIONS.

It is necessary to distinguish between the two chief divisions of Jewish Old Testament history, viz., before and after the Exile, though there is such a shading off in the development of the doctrine of immortality that we cannot say that the Exile draws a sharp line between the older and newer beliefs. In both epochs, it is also imperative to distinguish, at least in some important features, between the popular, gen-

erally prevalent conceptions of the future state, and the aspirations and intuitions of favored, sometimes inspired souls, who rose above the common level. Both currents of thought run through the Old Testament literature.

(A) *Before the Exile.*—It cannot be gainsaid that the ancient Hebrews had no definite hope of a recompense, either good or evil, beyond this present life. For the masses death meant the descent of the soul into Sheol, that universal rendezvous of the dead, where good and bad, high and low, suffered the same lot, buried in a vague, vast subterranean abyss, where they subsisted imperfectly, in a sluggish torpor or half-sleep. There they rejoined their fathers, but in the earliest literature of the Israelites, as far as we are able to assign it, there is scarcely a hint of deliverance from this dark and sad abode.<sup>1</sup> In the divine economy the doctrine of immortality, was to grow and unfold slowly and painfully through the ages till it received its finishing and confirmation from the lips of Christ and the revelations of the Holy Spirit. Yet the idea of retribution was most firmly rooted in the Israelitic mind from the beginning. For every violation of divine law a forfeit was due to God's justice and holiness. Death was the punishment of all-pervading impersonal sin.<sup>2</sup> If Sheol was regarded as a penalty at all, it was as one for the sinfulness of humanity, and not for the transgressions of individuals. The logical corollary of the juxtaposition of these two principles: the absence of judgment beyond the tomb, and the imperativeness of retribution, was a third broad principle, viz., that God rewards and punishes in this life, and that therefore, well-being, that is, spiritual, material and social prosperity, is the reward of righteousness, while misfortune and suffering are the penalty of evil-doing and the signs of God's displeasure. This is the general broad principle which prevails, more or less, throughout nearly the entire Old Testament literature.<sup>3</sup>

And yet it raised such grave and perplexing problems,

<sup>1</sup> See "Le Developpement de la Doctrine de l'Immortalité," *Revue Biblique*, April, 1898; cf. article on Eschatology in Hastings "Bible Dictionary."

<sup>2</sup> Gen. II, 17; III, 19. Cf. Romans, V, 12-14.

<sup>3</sup> See "The Problems of Well-Being and Suffering in the Old Testament," *Biblical World*, April-May, 1896.

when confronted with the actualities of life, wherein the just are often miserable and the wicked or godless triumph and prosper, its application demanded so many exceptions and modifications, that this law of divinely ordained relation between righteousness and well-being, unrighteousness and suffering, must always—except, perhaps, in the infancy of the people—have had little more than a merely theoretic truth for the Israelites when applied to individuals. On the other hand, the history of the chosen people, as a whole, is a striking example of the truth that offending *nations* feel the weight of God's just wrath in time, since it is only in time they exist.

The pious Israelite of old, if he had enjoyed a long life and a goodly share of prosperity; if he had "possessed the land"—always an important factor in his happiness, if his barns were well-stored, and he left behind a numerous and loving progeny, at the close of his days deemed himself in the favor of Yahveh, and sufficiently rewarded for his faithfulness. He would "go to his fathers," to gloomy Sheol, it is true, and his spirit must have shrunk from that future of darkness and semi-extinction, but he found consolation in the thought that he would still live in his children and posterity and his name would be held in honor.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the Israelite who had striven to serve Yahveh and keep his law, but whose portion was one of affliction, who had felt the bitterness of injustice, or the sting of poverty, whose life perhaps had been one of physical torment or discomfort—such a one must have been profoundly troubled and cast down, especially when he saw his oppressor, or the wicked man batten in ease and riches. Cruel, indeed, must have been the problem of suffering to such upright souls, of whom Job is the type. This man's hopeless and agonizing life wrung from him in his despairing moods poignant complaints against the seeming failure of God's justice. Such a one must at times have felt with the Psalmist,

"Surely in vain have I cleansed my heart,  
And washed my hands in innocence;  
For all day long have I been plagued,  
And my chastisement was every morning."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ps. CXII (Vulgate CXI), 1, 2; Ecclus. XL, 19; Is. LVI, 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. LXXIII (LXXII), 13, 14.

But Job, seeing dimly a ray of light, hoped against hope that somehow God would in the end lift him out of his misery, and bring him into His joy-giving Presence.<sup>1</sup> So, many religious souls, tortured by the enigma of life, rebelling against the universal application of the law of earthly retribution, must have faintly trusted, that their consciousness of communion with God would survive the present life, that perhaps by some marvel of divine power they would be redeemed from Sheol, and receive recompense for all their woe, by sharing in the endless bliss of the Messianic reign or some more transcendent intercourse with Yahveh. It needed such a deeply religious nature as that of the Israelites, with their instinctive sense of the essential justice of God, and lowly reverence for His mysterious dispensations, to keep alive faith and moral rectitude in this dark period of early Hebrew eschatology, when the hope of a better life was only a flickering spark.

Yet, it was out of such perplexities and half hopes that this eschatology grew into something more definite and comforting. Thoughtful minds sought a solution, and hopeful aspirations for deliverance from Sheol into a divine life began to find expression. The problem of the prosperity of the unrighteous and the sufferings of the just led, too, to a higher estimate of purely spiritual goods. The tender relationship on earth between the soul and God, often and touchingly expressed in the psalms, was found to be in itself a great reward.

"Thou art my refuge,  
My portion in the land of the living."<sup>2</sup>

Psalms XXXVII, LXXIII, are the inspired utterances of souls wrestling with the problem of inadequacy of temporal retribution, giving voice to their aspirations, and hoping the "larger hope" of ultimate blessedness in the afterlife. It is probable that both are pre-exilic in date, but whether or no, as we shall find kindred thoughts among the pre-exilic prophets, it is not too much to say that before the Exile, the development of the doctrine of a future life had begun to shed abroad rays, though feeble, of gloom-dispelling light.

<sup>1</sup> At least according to probable interpretations of XIX, 25, 26; XIII, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. CXLII (CXLI), 5; cf. Ps. XVI (XV), 2, 5.

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The prophets dealt with nations, and classes of men. They entered into no study of the problem we have been describing. The judgment of God, they predict, is a judgment upon the whole people. The resurrection that Ezechiel beheld, prefigures, as he tells us, the restoration of Israel.<sup>1</sup> And indeed, up to the Captivity, an Israelite with the exception of chosen spirits here and there, such as some of the psalmists, could hardly conceive of an individual religious life and responsibility apart from those of the community. He was absorbed, so to speak, by the theocracy as he had been in public and social life effaced by the clan or tribe. So the eschatology of the prophets is almost wholly a national eschatology. The retribution they constantly preach is that of the judgments which shall precede the Kingdom of God; in the literal sense of their utterances this Messianic reign was not to be devoid of earthly elements, though these would be transformed and renewed. Only indirectly did the prophetic warnings and exhortations touch the individual. It is significant of the little prominence which the idea of the personal retribution had yet gained, also of the ineradicable sense of an omniscient and avenging God of holiness and justice, that the prophets hold out no reward for individual virtue, but that of escape from death at the invaders' hands together with a vague blessedness and "life"; while as a sanction against wrong-doing they appeal only to the everlasting righteousness of God, and a sharing in the popular calamities. Once indeed, another and surprising note is heard: Isaias proclaims that the just Israelites shall rise from the dead to share in the joys of the Messianic reign, and the stress of the passage seems to bear upon individuals.<sup>2</sup>

The catastrophes of the Captivity, by dissolving the nation and the organic solidarity of the people, brought out strongly the relations of God to the individual and a consequent personal responsibility. When the kingdoms and theocracies had ceased to be, the individual found himself spiritually face to

<sup>1</sup> Ez. XXXVII, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Is. XXVI, 14-19; cf. Orelli, "Old Testament Prophecy," p. 303; Riehm, "Messianic Prophecy," 2d ed., p. 276.



face with God. The religious unit in the Exile was not the nation but the person. Ezechiel announced that henceforth everyone must stand or fall on his own merits.<sup>1</sup> He is the one prophet who insists upon personal righteousness and holiness, independent of that of the community, while not losing sight of the truth that there is a certain oneness between rulers and people, between the nations and their individual members. This important step in advance prepared the way for a personal eschatology.

(B) *After the Exile.*—Whether or not it be true, as some critics maintain, that contact with Persian theology hastened the development of the Jewish doctrine of the future life, we find in post-exilic books a notable progress of ideas. Still, this is not immediately evident. The old conceptions were deeply rooted, and the post-exilic prophets, Malachias, Aggeus, Zacharias, address their messages chiefly to classes, or to the whole people, and the future they sketch is that of the community in the Messianic kingdom. The Messianic eschatology and that of the individual went on developing side by side, till they were gradually merged into one, by the latter appropriating to itself the retributions of the Messianic days, previously related only to nations and collections of men. The wisdom-literature belonging to the earlier part of the period after the Captivity concerns itself with the transcendence of Wisdom and its application to the affairs of daily life. But in the deeper spirituality of the Psalms we encounter a marked advance in eschatological thought.<sup>2</sup> Here the problem of the prosperity of the wicked is solved by their evil end, and by the deliverance of the just from Sheol into life with God.<sup>3</sup> In Pss. XVI and XLIX the crucial stage of perplexity to which LXXIII and XXXVII bear witness, is no longer encountered. Instead, there is a triumphant assurance that God will translate the spirit of the just from the living death of Sheol, which

<sup>1</sup> Ezechiel, XVIII. The idea had been announced but not developed by Jeremias, XXXI, 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> Pss. XVI (XV), XLIX (XLVIII), 13, ff. Compare XXXVII (XXXVI), 27, 28, XXXVI (XXXV), 8-9; and XXII (XXI), 14, "man whose portion is in this life."

<sup>3</sup> See Kirkpatrick, "The Book of Psalms," 1902, p. 273; *Etudes*, November, 1899, p. 340 ff.



is to be properly the lot of the wicked. And the writers do not speak for themselves alone: they are types.<sup>1</sup>

The second book of Machabees, probably written in the first century before the Christian era, gives evidence of immense progress in the doctrine of the future life. The answer of the seven martyred brothers to the tyrant presiding at their tortures, and the exhortations of their heroic mother, are animated by an assurance of a resurrection of the faithful and a reward for their constancy in the afterlife.<sup>2</sup> Those of the just who die without having been fully cleansed from sin, can be delivered from these impediments to the joys of the resurrection by the prayers of the living.<sup>3</sup> The ultimate fate of the wicked is left obscure in the Book of Daniel which is regarded by recent critics, including a few Catholic scholars,<sup>4</sup> as composed in the Machabean era, but we encounter an otherwise highly developed doctrine in chapter XII, 2, 3, the only passage in the proto-canonical books where resurrection and retribution after death are clearly taught, and the sole mention in the entire Old Testament of a resurrection of the unjust.

The eloquent passages of the Book of Wisdom (II-V) describing the persecution of the just man by the evil, and the consternation of the latter on beholding his glory in the after-world, also mark an advanced stage of progress in eschatological teaching. Here the heavenly reward of virtue is clearly taught. "The just shall live forevermore and their reward is with the Lord." The fate of the wicked is not so definitely expressed, but "they are consumed in their wickedness."<sup>5</sup>

Wisdom and Daniel hold, in general, the highest levels of the Old Testament eschatology, but the former, if not both, belong to the advanced period of Jewish theology comprised in the two centuries preceding Christ. The progress of Old Testament ideas of immortality, which we have cursorily traced from its obscure rudiments to the comparatively full development represented by Wisdom and Daniel and Second Machabees

<sup>1</sup> See Kirkpatrick, "The Book of Psalms," 1902, p. 273; *Etudes*, November, 1899, p. 340 ff.

<sup>2</sup> II Mach., VII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, XII, 43-45.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, October, 1902, *Revue Biblique*, April, 1898, p. 228.

<sup>5</sup> Wisdom, V, 16, 13.

is instructive and interesting. Yet how slowly the conception of future rewards and punishments made its way among the masses may be seen in the second chapter of the late book of Wisdom where the unrighteous are represented as basing their sensual enjoyments and cruelties upon a materialistic view of life, a mixture of Epicureanism and the old unbelief in personal reckoning hereafter.

## II. THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS.

The darkness concerning human destiny which prevailed in the minds of the Israelites before the Exile and for some time after, naturally gave to the tangible present good of earthly possessions an attractive and overwhelming force. The *summum bonum* seemed to be the things of this world. Indeed, only the deeply rooted religious-ethical consciousness of the people which had been awakened into energy by Moses, and was kept alive by the prophets, an instinct which found its embodiment and fixed expression in the Law given or sanctioned by Yahveh—this alone prevented the Israelites, as a people, from wallowing in the slough of materialism depicted in the second chapter of Wisdom. As it was, lust of gain and pleasures ruled the upped classes in the time of the later kings. A brutal overriding on their part of the rights of the poor and weak, a ruthless exploitation of the ill-defended classes, is plainly written in the denunciations of the prophets. The infection extended to those whose duty it was to administer justice and vindicate the laws of God. "The heads thereof (Jerusalem) judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money." "The rulers eat the flesh of the people and flay the skin from them."<sup>1</sup> There is a reiterated outcry from the inspired prophets against unscrupulousness in trade, against the exactions, the injustice and the violence of the rich.

It had not been always so in Israel. The Jews of to-day are the descendants of a simple nomadic folk who drove their flocks in the desert and lodged under tents of skins.

<sup>1</sup> Micheas, III, 11, 2.

The settlement in Canaan made a revolution in the habits and life of these wanderers, which was the more rapid as they came into possession of a country whose inhabitants had reached a notable degree of civilization. The Israelites became an agricultural people, and remained such through all the vicissitudes of their history as a nation. They were unfitted for trade, both by their nomadic life in the past and the situation of their newly-conquered country, hemmed in, as it was, on all sides by enemies, and cut off from the sea and its ports, except for the brief space in which the tribe of Zabulon held possession of a strip of coast. On the other hand, the land answered generously to the labors of the husbandman and stock-raiser. Its valleys and lower levels were fertile, especially in the northern half; its hillsides were adapted to vine-growing, and where the soil was semi-desert and unfruitful, large flocks of sheep and goats could find sustenance. The good wheat and barley harvests and the herds were ample to support the population with its few and simple wants.

At first trading was left in the hands of the Canaanites, close kinsmen to the Phoenicians, and inheritors of their genius for commerce. Forced from the soil, they turned actively to a mercantile life. The term "Canaanite" remained for a long time a synonym for merchant.<sup>1</sup>

The Israelites tilled the ground or kept their flocks. Their modest wealth lay in the fruits of these industries. The mass of people was thus composed in the early period of a middle class of peasant-proprietors, equally removed from want and luxury. Saul, himself, the newly chosen king, did not disdain, even after his elevation, to follow the plough and cultivate the paternal acres.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the monarchy, itself the token of a higher civilization, reacted upon the hitherto simple, patriarchal life of the people, and brought in an element of complexity and social inequality. It also gave an impetus to trade, yet not before Solomon had expanded David's moderate establishment, and made Jerusalem the capital of a splendid Oriental despotism. Luxuries were now in demand. An increase

<sup>1</sup> Sophonias, I, 11; Ezech. XVI, 29; Prov. XXXI, 2, 4.

<sup>2</sup> I Samuel, XI, 5.

of wants created an increase of traffic. Nearly all costly articles had to be imported from the opulent and busy Phoenician emporiums, Tyre and Sidon, or from Damascus and Assyria, by the caravans whose route lay across northern Israel. Solomon himself had the commercial instinct, as is proven by his dealings in Egyptian horses and chariots,<sup>1</sup> and his expeditions to Ophir, though these last were probably only to supply gold for the Temple and luxuries for the court.<sup>2</sup>

Thus it came about that Israelites, learning from the Canaanites, began to be skilled in crafts of the humbler kinds, as pottery, smith-work, weaving, baking. They embarked upon the currents of world-commerce which streamed through their land in two great caravan-routes. The third book of Kings (XX, 34) casually reveals the fact that the northern kingdom, always the representative Israel in a material sense, had important trade relations with Damascus. The fertile areas of Palestine produced a surplus of grain, oil and balsam, which was consumed by mercantile, densely populated Phoenicia. In return, the latter sent its fine fabrics and articles of luxury. Palestine became the granary of Phoenicia, and probably through Phoenician middlemen, carried on an export trade in its surplus wheat.<sup>3</sup> But despite these trade developments, the Israelites always remained essentially an agricultural people.<sup>4</sup> The tilling of the soil was held in eminent honor, and the well-to-do residents of cities and towns generally owned farms, vineyards or pasture-lands, to which they gave attention personally or through stewards.<sup>5</sup> How strong were the fibres which rooted the ancient Jew to the soil of his fathers is strikingly seen in the story of Naboth's vineyard which the owner refused to sell, even to the king. Commerce always remained a secondary element in Israel's economy, except in so far as it was based directly upon the products of the earth.

As well as the limited data permit us to judge, it was Israel's extensive grain trade with Tyre and Sidon that—

<sup>1</sup> III Kings, X, 28, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., IX, 26-28; X, 11, 12, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ez., XXVII, 17.

<sup>4</sup> See Buhl, "Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten," 1899, pp. 65, 66.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sam., XII, 1, ff.

much more than the monarchies and royal officialdom—broke up the old approximate social equality which had held in the era of the Judges, and that of the beginnings of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> This equality rested upon a relatively equal distribution of land. As a consequence the body of the Israelites were an agrarian middle-class. But in the age of the later kings the growing dimensions of the grain exports whetted the avarice of the rich, and induced them to enlarge to the utmost by fair means or foul, their holdings of a soil which had become so remunerative. They took advantage of the seasons of dearth, caused by war or failure of crops, to press their peasant creditors and force them to part with their mortgaged farms.<sup>1</sup> Thus arose landlordism and concentration of wealth in the hands of relatively few. The numbers of the comfortable middle class were reduced, and the poor were multiplied.

The influx of money from the grain-trade brought in a money-economy, a commercialism which soon heightened and emphasized the social inequalities, for by these new factors in Israel's industrial life the upper class profited in great disproportion. All the advantages were on the side of the wheat-jobbers and the land monopolists. Socially the distance between the more and the less prosperous widened rapidly. The poor found themselves isolated in their miserable villages in a state of serfdom to the lords of the soil. Having lost their land and become too straitened to redeem it, they were now forced to subsist at the mercy of the larger proprietors, or seek a precarious livelihood in cities. The rise in the price of food products, caused by the selfish hoarding of grain for export and speculation, intensified the distress of the proletariat. In many cases they were obliged to sell into slavery their children or themselves, in order to obtain the necessities of life.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the commercial development of the nation ended in the rise and dominance of a moneyed aristocracy, at once

<sup>1</sup> See Walter, "Die Propheten in ihrem sozialen Beruf und das Wirtschaftsleben ihrer Zeit," 43 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Osee VII, 14, Is. V, 3; Mich. II, 1, ff. Cf. Neh. V. The accumulation of the land of poor agrarian creditors is a common source of the rise of classes in antiquity. See Adler, *Geschichte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Amos, II, 6, 7; Is. III, 12; cf. Neh. V, 2, 5, 8.



grasping and oppressive, whose wrongdoings were shielded by corrupt rulers and judges. The victims on whose blood they fattened constituted a class without property, a proletariat, whose existence was a portent unknown in the older days of Israel, and whose condition was the more helpless inasmuch as they were without the rights of citizenship,<sup>1</sup> bare and defenceless before the greed of the "mighty." So we find that in the second deportation to Babylonia there were left in Juda only the utterly poor, those destitute of real property. These alone found comfort in the catastrophe, for they came into the occupancy of the vacant lands and houses.<sup>2</sup>

Between the capitalists and the poor was a shrinking middle class, composed on the one hand of small freeholders,<sup>3</sup> struggling against absorption by the magnates, and on the other of well-to-do tradesmen, established in cities and town. The royal officers, military and civil, formed another element, closely allied to the agrarian and financial aristocracy. They often abused their power of gathering tribute, to exploit the much-suffering commonalty. The king himself, even when he had the will, which was rare,<sup>4</sup> could check but not prevent the widespread oppression of the weak and poor by the "mighty."

The Exile did little to abate the covetousness which had become one of Israel's crying national sins. The old spirit of soulless greed soon reappeared after the Return. In the stress of political and social restoration, the poorer people were forced to borrow money and grain from the "nobles and the rulers" and being unable to pay the usurious interest, they saw their mortgaged houses and fields, and even their children, fall into the hands of the exactors. It took the angry intervention and generous example of Nehemias to redress these evils.<sup>5</sup>

The sojourn of many Hebrews in the industrial and trading centres of Babylonia, Assyria and Persia, after their violent uprooting from the soil, compelled them to learn trades and handicrafts and further stimulated the awakened commercial tendencies of the race. It was now that Jews for the first time

<sup>1</sup> Buhl, "Socialen Verhältnisse, etc.," p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> IV Kings, 25, 12; Jer. XXXIX, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jer., XXXII, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Jeremiah, XXII, 16, mentioned as a noteworthy fact that King Josias "judged the cause of the poor."

<sup>5</sup> Neh. V.



entered into money-trading and became bankers. At first confined to the Dispersion, this new feature of Jewish life extended itself in time to the fatherland. The first minted coins came into use during the Persian domination, the Israelites having previously used, as mediums of exchange, only weighed pieces of gold and silver. In Jerusalem, after the Exile, artificers and tradesmen were numerous and important enough to form guilds, which had a status resembling that of the clans, and enjoyed corporate rights and privileges.<sup>1</sup>

But after the Captivity the fuller operation and more liberal provisions of the Law in favor of greater equality, must have bettered the condition of the poorer classes. The population steadily increased, and despite the wars and persecutions, which ravaged the country, prosperity gradually reappeared. So we find a sacred writer describing the rule of Simon Machabee as a golden age.<sup>2</sup> It was then that fertile Galilee was reunited to Judea. The producing power of Palestine in the time immediately preceding Christ is strikingly evidenced by the enormous taxes the population was able to pay to foreign rulers and the Temple service, without suffering exhaustion.

GEORGE J. REID.

ST. PAUL SEMINARY.

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<sup>1</sup> Buhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 43. Cf. Neh. III, 8, 31; I Par. IV, 21.

<sup>2</sup> I Mach. XIV, 6-15.

## THE MINING QUESTION.

The recent Anthracite Coal Strike has given to the mining question in the United States a prominence which is exceptionally welcome. The strike was a calamity; the suffering which it entailed and the uncertainty which it created in the business world have shown us the possibilities of danger and disaster that lie in our present industrial condition. The Commission created by the President to investigate the conditions in the mining regions and to arrange a settlement of the controversy between the operators and the miners will undoubtedly give to the public a report which will have a first-rate educational value. The public is interested; the situation should be known. Undoubtedly the report will be well studied when it is presented.

It may contribute in a slight degree to that work of popular education if attention be called to the extended investigation of the mining question made by the Industrial Commission. Hence, a brief résumé of the evidence and recommendations concerning the situation in the mining industry is here presented. In addition, attention is called to the valuable report made by the Hon. Carroll D. Wright on the strike controversy, last summer, and published in the Bulletin of the Department of Labor, November, 1902.

This Industrial Commission was approved by an act of Congress of June 18, 1898, and its duty was, according to this act, "to investigate questions pertaining to immigration, to labor, to agriculture, to manufacturing and to business, and to report to Congress and to suggest such legislation as it may deem best upon these subjects. . . . It shall furnish such information and suggest such laws as may be made a basis for uniform legislation by the various states of the union, in order to harmonize conflicting interests and to be equitable to the laborer, the employer, the producer and the consumer."

Hence, we may well expect to find in the reports of the Industrial Commission much information which will be duplicated by the Anthracite Coal Commission. The testimony

regarding the conditions of capital and labor in coal mining in the eastern states was taken in 1899, and additional statements of one or two leading representatives of the employers and employees of this industry were secured in 1901. Moreover, the complaints and the demands of the miners are almost the same as they were at the time when the testimony was taken. The testimony will show that the problem, though changed in accidental features is essentially the same.

The exact words of the text are occasionally given without references or quotation marks: they may be easily traced to the original sources. The fifth, ninth, twelfth, seventeenth and nineteenth volumes of the Report of the Industrial Commission and the November number of the Bulletin of the Department of Labor are the documents chiefly employed.

#### THE ANTHRACITE COAL MINES OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The anthracite coal deposits of Pennsylvania are located in the northeastern part of the state, less than 150 miles from New York, and 100 miles from Philadelphia. They are scattered over four distinct areas: (1) The Northern or Wyoming field, with Carbondale, Scranton and Wilkesbarre as the principal centres; (2) the Southern or Schuylkill field lying east and west of Pottsville; (3) the Eastern Middle or Lehigh region, about Hazelton; (4) the Western Middle of Mahanoy and Shamokin basins (XIX, 444).

These deposits vary greatly in size and character—the Northern and Southern being by far the largest. In the Wyoming field the coal beds lie only 1,000 or 1,200 feet below the surface, while in the Western Middle field the depth of the mines reaches 2,000 feet. In the Southern field the general depth is still greater and for this reason it has not been developed as rapidly as the other regions. The veins are very irregular; some are worked which are only three or four feet in thickness, while elsewhere they may reach forty feet and even more, as is the case in the Mammoth beds.

These mines were discovered between 1770 and 1790 by a party of hunters, camping in the region, who were astounded at seeing the ground take fire. The "black stones" were used for many years for different purposes, as for instance in

Philadelphia for the construction of gravel walks. But it is only towards 1820 that hard coal mining began as a trade (XIX, 446).

The amount of anthracite mined yearly has not increased much for the last twenty-five years; it amounts to little over 50,000,000 long tons (2,240 pounds) while the production of bituminous coal, which was hardly larger than that of the anthracite twenty-five years ago reached 250,000,000 tons for the year 1900, and has considerably increased since then. But more perfect machinery and methods are regularly introduced in drilling, blasting, loading coal, propping mines, hauling coal from the rooms, conveying it to tippie, dumping screening, weighing. The dangers of the mining industry have been greatly reduced by improved methods in ventilation and drainage though they are still considerable.

Unfortunately, in anthracite mining, as well as in many other industries, social progress has not kept pace with the mechanical progress, and while more perfect machinery has been introduced in mining, the relations between the operators and miners have been more and more strained until they have reached the present critical state of open rupture.

The developments which have led to the present condition may be briefly told.

The railroad companies have, little by little, monopolized most of the coal mining industry of Pennsylvania (XIX, 446). At the present time they own or lease more than nine tenths of the coal deposits. However, as most railroads are not permitted by law to operate coal mines directly (447), they make use of subsidiary coal mining companies for this purpose. Thus, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad coal is mined by the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Co., of which it owns the entire capital stock. Similarly the Central Railroad of New Jersey operates the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Co., the Pennsylvania through the Scranton Coal Co., etc.

Not only have the railroads evaded in this way the law prohibiting combined privileges of mining and transportation, but they have used this system to eliminate independent operators (448). They have charged them excessive rates for the transportation of the coal from the mines to tidewater, alleging that

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they charge the same rates to their own subsidiary mining companies. The result, in fact, has been that most of these subsidiary companies have been apparently operated at a loss. But, on the other hand, it is obvious that the railroads have fully recouped themselves for these deficits by means of the corresponding profits which they have made in transportation (XIX, 453). The ultimate result has been the gradual absorption of the property of the independent operators by the railroad companies.

At the same time continual attempts on the part of the railroad companies have been made to restrict production and prescribe prices by artificial means. Agreements were made between the companies to limit the yearly output to a certain quantity determined by the extent of the mining properties of each company. Combination was attempted by means of pooling, then by lease of one railroad to another. Public opinion, official investigations, decisions of courts, enactment of laws, nothing could check the progress of combination. In fact, it has continued to our day, no longer by allotment of tonnage, pooling or lease, but by outright purchase of stock holding control.

While the operators tended more and more toward consolidation, a like movement took place among the miners. They also united, and in union they found strength comparable to that of their employers.

The first organization of coal miners in the anthracite coal region (XII, xxiv) was formed as early as 1860. Several attempts were made to establish (XII, xxiv) a national organization. They had greater or less temporary success, until the "United Mine Workers" association was formed in 1890. The great bituminous strike of 1897 gave it an extraordinary impulse. Yet, in the anthracite region, it attained considerable strength only at the time of the anthracite strike of 1900. It went into that strike with a membership of only 8,000 among the anthracite miners and came out of it with about 100,000.

It has been the continual professed aim of this organization (XVII, 190) to better the condition of the miners. Its efforts to secure proper wages (XVII, 186), paid in lawful money, to regulate the weighing of coal, to obtain and enforce legislation

on prevention of accidents in the mines, on employers' liability on accidents, on the length of the working day and on child labor have not been fruitless. They had to fight every step in their progress towards a better social condition; nevertheless much has been accomplished.

About 1875 the sliding scale system was established; the wages of the miners were to advance in proportion with the price of coal. It was then thought to be a great gain for the miners. But they soon complained that they could not verify the computations of the company on which their wages depended, and that in fact the operators had failed to raise the wages when the price of coal rose.

This was not the only grievance of the miners. When, on September 12, 1900, the strike was declared, they demanded, besides the abolition of the sliding scale system, an advance of 10 to 20 per cent. in the wages, according to the class of labor—semi-monthly payment in cash—abolishment of the system of 3,360 pounds to the ton and restoration of the 2,240 pound system—appointment of a checkweighman by the miners to verify the weight taken by the company; protection of the men in the mines—abolishment of the company store system, and company doctor system—reduction in the price of powder, from \$2.75 to \$1.50. The price of powder is an important matter as the miners buy from the operators all powder used for blasting.

The demands were not all granted. The strikers returned to work on a promise of an increase of 10 per cent. in wages. The sliding scale was abolished and the operators agreed to take up with their men any further grievances they might have. The price of powder was reduced to \$1.50 a keg, but the difference was deducted from the increase of wages.

On the whole it was a victory for the miners, and their union. Yet the war between the two great combinations (XVII, 192) did not end there. The term of the concessions granted by the operators expired April 1, 1901. As the time approached the operators posted notices to the effect that they were ready to continue the same terms until April 1, 1902. In spite of this offer it seemed for a time that a general strike would be called. The miners were clamoring for a recognition

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of the Union. Finally the strike was averted. The operators held a conference with the leaders of the miners and "held out the hope that if during the present year the mine workers demonstrated their willingness and ability to abstain from engaging in local strikes, full and complete recognition of the organization would unquestionably be accorded at a future date."

The conflict averted in April, 1901, broke out in March, 1902. The miners demanded arbitration. The National Civic Federation endeavored to induce operators to arbitrate. But to no avail. The operators insisted there was nothing to arbitrate. Finally, the strike was declared, and in May, 1902, 145,000 miners went out. The strike continued until last October when the President called in conference, the representatives, operators and miners "in regard to the failure of the coal supply which had become a matter of vital concern to the whole nation." Negotiations went on until the second half of October when a commission of arbitrators, appointed by the President, was accepted by both parties.

Its purpose, according to the instructions of the President, is to endeavor to establish the relations between employers and wage workers on a just and permanent basis, and as far as possible, to do away with any causes for recurrence of such difficulties as those it is called on to settle.

The miners returned to work on the 23d of October, and the next day the Commission met in Washington to begin its proceedings.

#### COMPLAINTS OF MINERS. WAGES.

The first complaint of the miners at the time of the hearings of the Industrial Commission as well as now, was that they did not receive fair wages. They admitted that since 1897 wages had risen and they attributed this rise to the strength of the organization, to strikes and to the general increase in the price of labor. Yet they contended that these wages were too low, whether compared to the American standard of living or to the wages received in other occupations of the same nature.

Most of the mining done in the anthracite fields is done on a contract or piecework system. As these contracts are gen-

erally made by individual bargaining between the miner and the superintendent, and as they vary from mine to mine and from vein to vein, it is very difficult to ascertain what is the average earning of the miner. What increases the difficulty is that each miner (XII, xxv) has usually one or two assistants, whom he pays, and therefore, the amounts figured by the operators often represent not the wages of a single man, but the wages of two or three men. Another fact to be taken into consideration in the computation of wages is that coal miners are employed only a fraction of the year. Out of over 300 possible working days, the miners are employed seldom over 200 days in the year, sometimes much less. These facts will serve to explain the strange differences which exist between the testimony of the miners and that of the representatives of the companies. Some assert that the yearly wages of a miner averages from \$500 to \$1,000, while others testify that an underground miner receives less than \$2.00 a day, other laborers from \$1.10 to \$1.64; the workers on breakers \$1.00 to \$1.20. To those figures must be added the 10 per cent. increase which was the result of the anthracite strike of 1900.

According to an operator (IX, clxv) who appeared before the Industrial Commission in March, 1901, therefore after the 10 per cent. increase, the average wage of the coal miners throughout the year was \$40.00 a month. About 12 per cent. of the whole number are boys who receive half this rate. The average wages for foremen above ground are \$2.71 per day; for mechanics above ground \$1.92; for laborers above ground \$1.29; for boys under sixteen, 62 cents. Below ground, a foreman receives \$3.05 on an average; miners, \$2.40; laborers, \$1.63, and boys under sixteen 89 cents. According to this witness the average number of days worked is about 200 a year, hence, the annual wage is lower than one might think.

The Commissioner of Labor obtained about the same figures from the mine operators. The monthly earnings of miners working for the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western R. R. Co., are \$66.48. In the Reading Co., the average daily earnings during November, 1901, were from \$2.00 to \$3.00 for regular miners; \$1.20 to \$1.60 for laborers, and 85 cents for boys.

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## METHOD OF PAYMENT.

Formerly employers paid wages every month, always retaining half a month's earnings at the time of payment. The United Mine Workers obtained a semi-monthly payment but the employers still held back from ten days' to two weeks' wages. Weekly payment seems to be the universal desire of the employees, because provisions and supplies could be bought for cash outside of the company's stores at cheaper rates, and miners would be less under the control of the employers.

The operators complain of the great labor involved in the making out of frequent pay-rolls: they add that pay day is likely to be followed by two or three days of idleness and dissipation. But the miners see in this monthly or bimonthly payment only an attempt on the part of the operators to compel the men to trade at the company stores.

## COMPANY STORES AND TENEMENTS.

The method of payment was one of the most bitter complaints of miners in the strike of 1900. Company stores and company tenements have been established in places of work remote from business centres, and if the employers were satisfied with a fair compensation for the building and running of such stores and tenements, they would be a great benefit to the employees. But this is generally not the case. In certain mining sections of Pennsylvania, the prices at company stores are said to be 25 to 40 per cent. higher than elsewhere. Moreover, company stores and tenements are objected to even where the prices are not excessive, because they limit the choice of the miners and, above all, are an instrument of oppression in the hands of the operators. According to the miners, often, men who fail to trade at the company store or to occupy the company tenement are discharged. It must be remarked, however, that this question has not had, in the last strike, the importance which it had in 1900.

## CHILD LABOR.

(XII, cxlv.) The miners complain that they are often so poorly paid that they feel driven by necessity to take their

children into the mines, while the operators prefer to employ boys for certain classes of work on account of the lower pay. Yet this custom is deprecated by every one. All agree that it interferes with the physical, intellectual and moral development of the children, and the representatives of labor add that the competition of children with men lowers wages and increases the number of unemployed.

The law of Pennsylvania allows children over fourteen to be employed under ground, and those over twelve over ground. It also requires them to attend school until they are fifteen years of age.

#### HOURS OF WORK.

The strike of 1897 secured for the bituminous coal fields of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania the eight-hour day. But in the anthracite mines great irregularity of hours seemed to exist. The miners working by contract have their own way, yet ten hours is recognized as a full day. Miners working by the day, laborers, mechanics, etc., work ten hours.

The representatives of the miners advocate a shorter day. They declare that the change which took place in bituminous fields has been beneficial to the health of the miners and to their mental and moral culture without working injury to the operators.

The operators, in answer to this demand of the miners, say that there is already too much idleness and loafing among the men. They claim that on the average the contract miners work only five hours a day and that, moreover, there are constant interruptions of work on account of picnics, parties, excursions and celebrations of all kinds.

#### CONDITIONS OF WORK.

(XIX, 905.) One of the great arguments of the miners in favor of an increase of wages and a decrease of hours is the character of the coal mining industry. It is, they say, more unhealthy and more dangerous than most other occupations. The absence of light is in itself an element of injury to the health of underground workers. Still more serious is the impurity of the air, which they are constantly breathing. Ventilation is only a partial success. The dampness, or at

times, the obnoxious coal dust, the confined and strained positions in which the miner is often obliged to work, are also causes which soon tell on his physical condition.

Moreover, the mines are the scenes of innumerable accidents to the workingmen. This is still more the case in the anthracite coal mines of Pennsylvania which are deeper and more exposed to noxious gases. The veins too, are more frequently thin and tilted. The proportion of fatal accidents in the anthracite mines is in most years considerably over 3 per 1,000 persons employed while the number of injured miners is twice and often three times larger.

The most general cause of fatal accidents is the falling of coal and rock, especially from the roof of the working places. Statistics show that nearly 2,000 miners were killed by falling of coal and slate in the Pennsylvania anthracite coal mines between 1891 and 1900. Another serious cause of accidents is connected with mine cars. The slopes and underground roads in which these cars are run are often so narrow that except where safety holes have been provided no person can pass the moving and loaded cars. About one-tenth of the fatalities is caused by explosions of gas or firedamp. Such explosions can often be traced to the lack of proper ventilation or of proper inspection of the mines by foremen and "fire bosses." A very large proportion of accidents in the anthracite mines is also due to blasting, though it must be added, the miner's carelessness is very frequently the cause.

(XII, xxvi.) There is considerable friction between miners and operators in regards to docking for impurities in coal. The operators contend that the practice is necessary to prevent some miners from careless work. The miners allege that whole cars are deducted from their account because of trifling amounts of slate or dirt. They have demanded judges of docking, but the requests have been refused.

The miners have been allowed to have their own check weighmen. Some complain that these check weighmen are not permitted to test the scales as often as they see fit, or that the cars are sometimes measured instead of weighed, or that, where they are paid by the car, the size of the cars has been increased without a corresponding increase of the pay.

Hence, their demand now is that they shall be paid by weight and that 2,240 pounds shall constitute the ton.

#### LABOR ORGANIZATION.

One of the most important causes of conflict between miners and operators in the anthracite coal fields is the obstinacy of the latter in refusing a formal recognition of the organization called the "United Mine Workers." This question has come more and more to the front with the rapid development of the union.

The trade unions have been recognized in many great industries. In this case, the representatives of the unions deal directly with representatives of the corporations, and fix the wage scale and the conditions of labor (XIX). To cite only one or two examples which have come more prominently before the eyes of the public, the managers of the steel combinations which now make up the "United States Steel Corporation" deal with the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin workers, and even sign the scale with them (XII, xxx). Another example which is still more to the point is that of the joint conferences between miners and operators in the bituminous coal industry. The interstate convention representing the operators and miners of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, determines the wages, houses and other conditions of labor for the ensuing year. Besides interstate conventions, there are state conferences in which lesser disputes are settled between the operators' commissioners and the miners' officials. The commissioner of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association states that he acted in about 200 cases within a year—in joint conferences with the representatives of the miners and in every instance they came to an amicable settlement.

During the strike of 1900, the anthracite coal miners endeavored in vain to obtain the official recognition of the union. They have renewed their efforts during the last two years and in the last general strike it has become one of the main demands of the miners.

(XII, 113.) The fundamental reason of this opposition lies in the desire of the employers to secure labor as cheaply



as possible. There is no doubt that this end is obtained more easily by dealing individually with employers than by dealing with the officials of the union.

Other reasons are alleged by the operators, the one most frequently appealed to, being the irresponsibility of the union. The organization, they say, contains in the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania, a strong element of lawlessness and violence. There has been more trouble with the discipline since 1900, *i. e.*, since the development of the union, than ever before. The leaders are often thrown into their positions by an ignorant vote, they are without the necessary requirements. If they are fit for the charge they are frequently forced into courses of action which they do not approve, as was the case when the last strike was declared (Dep. of Lab. Bulletin, November 1902, p. 1149). The union, conscious of its irresponsibility, has constantly refused to incorporate.

(XII, cxlvii, XIX, 967.) They admit that the recognition of the union by the bituminous coal operators has brought about beneficial results, but entirely different conditions prevail in the anthracite coal fields. There the foreign element predominates, a class of people entirely unfamiliar with the traditions and customs of organization, unaccustomed to the rules and self-control which it imposes, liable to misunderstand the purpose and institutions of a labor union.

In fact, a large number of the miners, which some estimate as high as 60 per cent., belongs to the non-English speaking races and many of them are still unable to speak English. These foreigners, mostly Poles, Slavs, Lithuanians, Hungarians and Italians, are largely without education, unmarried, and live in a manner which would never be acceptable to Americans. It will require a long time to train such a class of men into American methods and customs, and to develop in them the spirit of our labor organizations.

#### BLACKLISTING.

No convincing proof has been given of blacklisting. Yet it is a general feeling among the miners that they are refused work on account of affiliation to the union, or of the active part they have taken in organizing labor. It is true, the

employees have a counter weapon in the boycott, though the latter has never proved very useful to the anthracite miners. The blacklist, they say, has been very injurious to them. Yet, it is very hard to detect the truth in this connection, as the men are too apt to exaggerate the wrongs of the operators and they too often see an injustice in the mere attempt to maintain order and discipline.

#### REMEDIES.

It was the purpose of the Industrial Commission to suggest remedies for the present industrial evils. Hence one turns with interest to see what may be the recommendations of the Commission. To quote the words of the Report: (XIX, 933.) "The Industrial Commission has recognized the very general feeling on the part of the people that strikes and lockouts are in many instances, unduly expensive methods of settling differences, and that they, too, frequently injure greatly the welfare of large bodies of the people as well as that of the parties in dispute. The Commission has, therefore, investigated very thoroughly the methods employed for promoting industrial peace, both in the United States and in foreign countries, and has considered various proposals for the extension of these methods either by legislation or by voluntary action of organizations of employers and employees."

Three processes by which disputes may be adjusted are treated at length in the Report of the Industrial Commission; they are: collective bargaining, conciliation and arbitration.

The first two processes have already been referred to and are, to a certain extent, practiced in the bituminous coal regions of the United States.

*Collective bargaining* consists in an agreement between the employers and organized workingmen to fix the general conditions of labor. It is also called by the name of joint conferences, wageboards, agreement system. To be successful it must be conducted by and between organizations of fair-minded working people having honest, intelligent, and conservative leaders, and employers who are also honest, conservative and fair-minded (XIX, 839). Collective bargaining, though adopted by ten or twelve leading trades in the United States, has not yet been worked into its ultimate form.

The Commission suggests that this practice be extended

to industries and developed where it is already established. It is of opinion that the joint conference should be composed of relatively large numbers of representatives of employers and employees, so as to render the committees of the two parties as thoroughly representative as possible. These conferences may be held at fixed intervals, or when a change in the conditions of labor takes place, but always on the principle of friendly negotiation rather than formal rules and fixed procedure. It is also thought more advantageous that the conditions of labor be determined not by vote, but rather by peaceful discussions and mutual concessions, leading to practical unanimity.

(XIX, 835.) *Conciliation* is the process by which lesser disputes concerning matters of interpretation are settled, either through direct negotiations between the employers and employees concerned or through the action of joint boards representing the organizations to which they belong.

*Arbitration*, according to the Commission, should not be resorted to unless all means of bargaining and conciliation have been exhausted. Arbitration means an authoritative decision by some person or persons not directly concerned. The Commission discountenances the practice of submitting important questions regarding the general conditions of labor to outside arbitrators. It is urged that "no person outside the trade has the necessary technical knowledge on which to base a reasonable decision." They cannot understand sufficiently the relative strength of the employers and the employees, the conditions of competition within the trade and of competition from other sections and other countries. They are "too often inclined to split the difference in the matter of wages, whereas a just decision would rather, in many cases, be strictly in favor of the position taken by the one side or the other." Finally, they are not likely to overcome wholly certain inherent prejudices, the outcome of their training and environment.

The application of these suggestions to the present anthracite coal conditions is obvious to all. Arbitration has been resorted to after the failure of all other means. An attempt was made during the proceedings to return to the regular process of bargaining between employers and employees, but it failed.

There is no doubt that the majority of the members of the

Industrial Commission favored not only the formation of labor organizations, but also their recognition by employers. It suggests the solution of labor questions through collective bargaining. But collective bargaining as defined by the Commission is: "The process by which the general labor contract itself is agreed upon by negotiation directly between employers, or employers' associations and organized workingmen. Yet these organizations of workingmen should be composed of fair-minded working people, having honest, intelligent and conservative leaders." This suggestion will help us to understand the stubborn effort of the operators, during the hearings of the Coal Commission to show that the United Mine Workers are an irresponsible, lawless, dissolute, violent crowd. It is to be feared by the friends of organized labor that some truth will be found in the charge.

Besides the recommendation by the Industrial Commission of voluntary action of employers and employees, it also suggests such legislation on hours of work, method of payment, discrimination, etc., as may again throw light on the present anthracite problems.

(XIX, 948.) The Commission proposed as a model of legislation, for all states, the provisions of the Utah constitutions and statutes by which the time of employment in all underground mines and workings, shall be eight hours a day, except in cases of emergency, when life or property is in imminent danger.

(XIX, 949.) A law regulating the payment of wages should be adopted by all states, providing that laborers "shall be paid, for all labor performed, in cash or cash orders, without discount, not in goods or in due bills, and that no compulsion, direct or indirect, should be used to make them purchase supplies at any particular store." Mining employers should not be permitted to run supply stores at all. They have often evaded the laws by exacting a percentage on all purchases from a supposed independent store.

Provisions for the fair weighing of coal at mines before passing over a screen or other device, in order that the miner may be compensated for all coal having a market value, should be adopted.

The Commission recommends laws against discrimination

and blacklisting. Employers may be allowed to communicate to one another fair information upon subjects of mutual interest, but at the same time, no man must be excluded from employment because he belongs or does not belong to a union.

As regards safety in mines, as well as in other industries, the Commission requires as a matter of primary importance, not only compensation to the workingmen after the occurrence of accidents, but still more, preventative methods and legislation providing for them. The sanitary conditions of the mines must also be improved to protect, as far as possible, the health of the underground workers. Means of drainage, and more particularly of ventilation should be provided in more liberal manner than would be necessary merely to make work possible and safe (XIX, 910).

Mine inspection should be regulated very carefully. The laws of Pennsylvania, are, it is true, proposed by the Commission as a model of legislation for other states, but at the same time it is asserted that in this state the number of inspectors is often insufficient, nor are they always thoroughly competent.

The suggestions of the Commissioner of Labor, practically confirms those of the Industrial Commission, the only new feature being that in insisting on the advantages and importance of collective bargaining and conciliation, he advocates the organization of an anthracite coal miners' union independent of the United Mine Workers. The report is very carefully done; hence it is not to be expected that the finding of the Strike Commission will vary in many essentials from it.

Crises such as the Pullman strike in Chicago and the recent anthracite strike show very clearly that our institutions fail to meet the modern situation in industry. While such troubles are greatly to be regretted, they at least force advance in our social education, awaken the public and prepare the way for industrial peace.<sup>1</sup>

LEO DUBOIS.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

<sup>1</sup> Since this résumé was prepared, the Commission appointed by the President has made its recommendations. The chief features are: ten per cent. increase in wages; a nine-hour day; arbitration to decide on all questions concerning the awards; a sliding scale; no discrimination against union or non-union labor; the award to continue in force until March 31, 1906.



## BOOK REVIEWS.

**Jean-Marie de La Mennais (1780-1860).** Par le R. P. Laveille, prêtre de l'Oratoire. Paris: Poussielgue, 1903. 2 vols., 8°, pp. xli + 550, 679. 11 francs.

This life of the brother of the unhappy Félicité de La Mennais comes opportunely at the end of a long series of contributions to the tragic history of the founder of modern Christian apologetics. For some years, mémoires, letters, documents, have been multiplying, as the result of the gradual dispersion of the literary effects of the generation that lived so long under the spell of the Sage of la Chesnaie. The Lamennaisian literature is now a very extensive one; if it has not changed the traditional views of the events and measures that culminated in the philosopher's apostasy, it has brought light into many dark corners, and furnished rich material for the future historian of the vicissitudes of Catholic theology and its immediately correlated or ancillary sciences. Nearly thirteen hundred pages are devoted by Fr. Laveille to the story of Jean-Marie de La Mennais, the brother of "Féli," with whom he shared his heart, his mind, his ideals and aspirations, his plans and methods, until the crushing events of one fatal year (1832-1833), put a gulf between himself and the apostate, and opened for both of these remarkable priests a "via dolorosa" that has made forever memorable the name of a remote dairy-farm in the loneliest depths of Brittany.

If the career of Félicité de La Mennais ended in spiritual and intellectual disasters worthy of the pen of a Dante, that of his brother Jean-Marie led onward and upward, by a royal Via Crucis, to the heights of sanctity. Since 1901, the question of his canonization is an open one at Rome. This son of a merchant of Saint-Malo possessed in the highest degree certain apostolic virtues, among them a consuming energy and an evenly burning enthusiasm. His first, and he had hoped his most effective conquest, was his own brother: a doubt will always reign in the minds of many whether the latter had a vocation to the work of a priest, and whether Jean-Marie were wise in compelling that fiery soul to enter the sanctuary. Jean-Marie was for much in his brother's most famous writings; he was cofounder of la Chesnaie, and equally active in the organization of Catholic public opinion, and the creation of anti-Gallican and pro-Roman policies, measures, and institutions. To both the French

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Erastianism of their day was equally odious. A profound study of the mediæval world had persuaded both that genuine political liberty for Frenchmen was impossible apart from the closest union with the See of Rome. *Papa et populus*: that bold cry of Gregory VII. to the people of Milan, seemed to both these men even yet big with possibilities of peace and justice. Félicité forgot that the first virtue of a soldier was obedience, his first conquest submission of himself. Democracy was then far from the solidity of its modern *assiette*, an object of suspicion and hatred to a multitude of faithful Catholics—especially in Brittany—who had lost their all to its stormy apostles. The chanceries and bureaucracies of continental Europe had their faces turned toward the past rather than the future, and were busy in restoration rather than in transformation. The Fabian policy of the Holy See was a stone of scandal for the younger de La Mennais. Had he possessed more Christian patience, more insight and sympathy for the difficult circumstances of the papacy; above all, had he followed the friendly solicitations of Bishop Bruté, and buried himself for a time in the solitudes of the New World, his fate would have probably been another and a happier one.

The story of Jean-Marie is that of an educator—first in colleges and seminaries, which he founded or restored within the limits of his native Brittany, then in the famous hermitage of la Chesnaie, where passed the flower of the French stylists of the nineteenth century, later in the novitiate of his unfortunate Congrégation de St. Pierre, that charming Malestroît, where he gathered about him such men as Gerbet, later bishop of Perpignan, de Herecé, bishop of Nancy, the abbé Blanc, and the abbé Rohrbacher, church historians of note. The education of the clergy, the training of a multitude of Frenchmen to announce the truths of Catholicism in the polished accents of Bossuet and Fénelon, was the original pre-occupation of Jean-Marie de La Mennais. Both brothers were profoundly convinced that the man of France must be dealt with intellectually, on the highest level of speech. There is something of Brahmanic fixity in the Gallic adoration of “la parole”—hence, the insufferably pedantic Boileau can hold forever an open shrine and find a whole nation of cryptic votaries of his “art de bien dire.” Félicité de La Mennais was pleased when he had finished ten lines in a whole day; all the strength of this physically unseemly man lay in

lo bello stile che m’ha fatto onore.

Not even a De Maistre and a Châteaubriand have reached that compelling beauty of form that ravishes every reader of “*Les Affaires*

de Rome" and "Les Paroles d'un Croyant." He may be a lonely and blasted peak, seamed by the devastating bolts of heaven, but his seared head is also crowned with eternal snows that forever beckon and impress and fascinate, only to fill the oncomer with awe and horror as he realizes out of what depths of moral ruin rises this Titanic wreck, this Prometheus of ineffable pride and unfathomable suffering.

The durable work of Jean-Marie de La Mennais consists in two Breton teaching congregations for the children of the poor, the Brothers of Christian Instruction of Plöermel, and the Sisters of Providence of Saint Brieuc. The former have overrun all Brittany, and are busy with their calling throughout the French colonial possessions; an attempt to establish them in England failed. He labored likewise by advice and help to strengthen the teaching communities of many French dioceses. These incessant labors, as well as endless conflicts with a jealous government, eventually affected his health. Yet he toiled on to the end, courageous, unselfish, far-seeing—it would seem as if he felt himself somehow bound to uplift the name of La Mennais and compensate the Church for the losses occasioned by the spiritual bankruptcy of his brother. The most touching chapters of the work are those devoted to the relations between the two men, relations that grew weaker after 1833 and eventually ceased, not without causing great suffering to the innocent party. This life of one of the earliest and foremost apostles of Catholic education is worthy to rank with the best of those lives of French public men of the nineteenth century that have lately been printed—Louis Veuillot, Montalembert, Dupanloup, and others. In many ways it is a melancholic book. And yet it is inspiring, for it shows a brave and honest soul in daily conflict with opposition, interference and persecution, bearing steadily an intimate domestic cross, and expending an incredible energy on a multitude of enterprises for God's glory, any one of which would have exhausted the zeal of an ordinary Christian.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Summa Theologica V. Tractatus de Deo-Homine** sive de Verbo Incarnato. Auctore Laurentio Janssens, O.S.B., S.T.D. II Pars. Mariologia et Soteriologia. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1902. Pp. xxxiv + 1021. \$4.25 net.

The simple order of facts narrated in the scriptures furnished Saint Thomas with a plan of treatment for soteriology. The author of this volume finds the plan of Saint Thomas so admirably suited

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to present needs that he contents himself with merely adding to the text and its exposition such positive and critical information as the times demand. His method of presentation is, therefore, essentially scholastic. Many curious queries that might without loss have been omitted as so much that was "*nimis subtiliter investigatum*" receive their share of attention in the subject-matter treated. The historical method of meeting objections directly, and not laterally as so many side-issues, is a distinct feature of modern treatises, although hard to apply in a commentary whose very nature perhaps makes its absence excusable. The positive studies scattered through this volume in the form of appendices, the extensive bibliography, marginal references and quotations, as well as the excellent analytical index which it contains, are especially noteworthy. To all these newer features may be added a gracious Latin style and the attraction of a well-bound and clearly printed book.

More than five hundred pages of this work are devoted to questions concerning the Blessed Virgin. The author portrays the Old Testament types of the Virgin Mother, analyzes the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception, sees in Genesis a direct source of the doctrine, finds accommodated sources in Ecclesiasticus, Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles, and rehearses at length the argument from tradition. He pays little attention to the criticisms that have been advanced against the first source, and is inclined to regard the Proto-Evangelium as a genuine reference to the doctrine in question. From certain expressions, here and there, it would seem that the author takes rather too realistic a view of the wounding of nature by original sin. But this impression may be only subjective on the reader's part, as the author has not yet had occasion to treat of this matter professedly.

He recognizes and proves the opposition made to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception by the Lombard, St. Anselm, St. Bernard, Hugo of St. Victor, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventure, though he very justly remarks that the latter finally overcame his negative attitude. Scotus was the mediæval champion of the Mother conceived without stain, and his view was destined eventually to triumph. The author endeavors to explain the hostility of these theologians, and especially Saint Thomas. The latter, according to Dr. Janssens, failed to grasp the idea of redemption by anticipation. It was this oversight on the part of St. Thomas, which led him to argue from the singular privilege of Christ to a denial of the Immaculate Conception. Sin was universal; so was the need of redemption in all individuals descended from Adam in a natural way. According to

the universal laws of contracted sin and the need of redemption, the Virgin Mother had to be redeemed and therefore must in some way have contracted the original stain. Now it is without question that the Blessed Virgin was individually included in the economy of the redemption; the Immaculate Conception was not an isolated fact, but one related to the redemptive work of Christ, whose meritorious effects were, by a special privilege, applied to her by anticipation. St. Thomas was, therefore, right in his general principle, but wrong in his particular instance. He simply failed to see that actual contraction of original sin was not necessary for actual redemption.

This interpretation of St. Thomas is not general, and much could be said in favor of a far different reading of the texts. It is well supported, however, by the author who is fully aware that he is only stating the results of his own personal study and not settling a moot point between rival interpreters.

The author reviews the many plausible interpretations of the name "Mary" that have been suggested by scholars ancient and modern; states the controversial literature on the authorship of the Magnificat which he holds should be ascribed to the Blessed Virgin and not to her cousin Elizabeth; and criticizes the arguments against the perpetual virginity of Mary drawn from certain texts of the Gospel, her marriage with St. Joseph, and the occasional mention of the Lord's brethren made by the Evangelists. In a final appendix, after rehearsing the tradition and reviewing the theological arguments in favor of the Assumption, the author is of opinion that this doctrine may be made a matter of dogmatic definition. The dissertation on the Immaculate Conception is the most widely developed topic treated in the first part of this book.

The Soteriology, properly so-called, comprises, besides the regular questions treated by St. Thomas, several instructive dissertations on the names of Christ, devotion to the Sacred Heart, the Precious Blood, and the Wounds of the Redeemer. In discussing the problem of reconciling Christ's free oblation of himself with the command received from the Father to die for men, the author endeavors to reach a middle ground between rival views. He admits that the command partook of the nature of a strict precept, but denies that it was explicit; the very idea of the sacrificial character of Christ's mission contained it implicitly as part of Christ's destination, and so the Sinless One could neither refuse nor fail to observe it. Yet in its actual observance, so the author contends, Christ truly merited because of the perfect love with which he accepted and fulfilled the command of the Father. This is certainly a suggestive solution of

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a problem that is overrun with a veritable network of inventions and subtleties. It may leave much to be desired, but it destroys no facts, and appeals to no fictions.

We miss in the Soteriology the fuller positive treatment lavished upon the first part of the volume. The question of the atonement of Christ has only the mediæval background to give it setting, and lacks the robust character of the questions discussed in the Mariology. But we must remember that Dr. Jannsens is writing a commentary on the Summa, and endeavoring to present St. Thomas to modern students. That he has succeeded in giving us something far above the average commentary in matter, style, bibliography, and positive information, none will deny, not even those who do not share all his views, nor regard the commentary as an ideal form of exposition.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

**Sul Motivo Primario della Incarnazione del Verbo.** P. Francesco M. Risi, dell'ordine di San Giovanni di Dio. 4 vols., 8°. Rome: Desclée, Lefèbvre, e Comp., 1898.

The first volume of this work contains an historical survey of the speculations concerning the primary motive of the Incarnation, together with a criticism of the various views and the arguments on which these are made to rest. The first to raise the question explicitly whether Christ's coming was solely on account of sin or for a larger purpose, in which sin figured only as a secondary and modifying feature, was Rupert, Abbot of Duitz, in the twelfth century. Thenceforward to our own day the question has been much agitated within and without the pale of the Church Catholic. The author discusses the growing persuasion, in the minds of many writers, of the truth and beauty of the Scotist world-view, and loses no occasion to extol its excellence and grandeur. The method of presentation throughout is scholastic and frequently polemical, although historical considerations abound. We cannot follow Father Risi into the labyrinthian detail of his exposition, nor should we agree with all his contentions if we did. Suffice it to say that the author does not make the view which he holds any more acceptable by defending certain vague metaphysical generalities as persuasive thereunto. The view itself, is worth more than many of the refinements of thought invented for its support. These considerations apart, the first volume gives a very full, if not prolix, presentation to a speculative opinion which is usually, and unjustly, dismissed, in most text-books, with only a passing mention, or refuted with a stereotyped syllogism.



The second volume is devoted to the presentation of what St. Thomas thought on the question. The author collects the scattered texts, re-enforces them with his own commentary, but sometimes, we fear, lets his wish play father to his thought in reading their meaning. When we build syllogistic bridges to another's meaning, we may be right, and we may be wrong, too, if we attempt to cross them. We are glad, however, to see a fuller presentation of St. Thomas than has thus far been given, and the author has surely sought out every text that would count in the reckoning.

The third volume contains an exhaustive account of the Catholic tradition on the question and is an interesting positive study. The fourth volume develops the Scriptural sources which may be said to warrant the inference that Christ was destined to be part of the perfection of the Universe even if the race had not fallen, and the redemptive character of Christ's work become paramount in the eyes of sinful men. In the fourth volume is also to be found an index of authors, sources and topics, that is very useful, together with an appendix in which the author takes exception to certain views on the name of Christ and the meaning of His eternal priesthood, attributed by Toutt   to St. Cyril of Jerusalem. The patronage of Holy Writ, claimed by the author, for the Scotist view is more clearly contained in certain passages of the New Testament than in any of the Old. Despite all the author's arguments, however, it may well be doubted if we are not embarking upon too large an enterprise when we seek a philosophic point of view in Old Testament sources which have to be raised by argument to a high degree of significance before yielding the desired result.

The author deserves credit for his laborious task; only a good supply of enthusiasm would have carried him through this investigation, and he has succeeded in gathering together much positive information from the texts of the Fathers. Whatever may be thought of the scriptural and patristic value of the idea which he seeks to expose and defend, there can be little doubt of its worth and significance to contemporaneous opinion. Catholic as well as Protestant theologians are beginning to devote attention to it. Illingworth finds in the Scotist world-view, so large a spiritual outlook upon history that a nobler idea of man's unity and dignity must perforce come to him who sees in Christ the first-born of the brethren, whose death and suffering were an afterthought, but whose coming in the flesh was part of the world's order as planned in the divine counsels. And, indeed, if we take the trouble to reflect on the undue prominences which Protestants gave in Reformation days to the atone-

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ment, with their legalistic fictions of substitution and imputation, we will readily appreciate the avidity with which they are now turning to the Incarnation as the central fact of Christianity. Christ's life-work cannot be adequately expressed in the sole idea of satisfaction. Love, mercy, and order, as well as justice, are revealed in the coming of Him who was the Head of the race no less than the Savior of men.

There are some who will think that a work like this is a threshing over of old straw, a repetition of the duel between St. Thomas and Scotus. There are others who will say, that it is a theme more vast than they have strength of pinion to carry. But both forget that we live in an age of hypothesis, and that a sweeping view, such as the one the author advocates, and for which he seeks a solid ground in tradition, may have a new significance and value quite independent of the old-style fencing of dialecticians for and against it. We would scarcely take a man seriously if he thought modern Chemistry a return to Democritus because it follows the atomic theory as a convenient working-hypothesis. Neither should we be hasty to question the wisdom of those apologists who by means of a pure hypothesis, if you will, deprive many a well-directed modern shaft of its barb and point. Balfour and Fairbairn have, as a result of historical and critical study come to the conclusion that the Incarnation is in itself so wonderful a fact that it counterbalances completely the objection drawn from the relative unimportance of man with respect to the immeasurable grandeur of the material universe. And if some men historically, and others speculatively, are working toward the same result—the central position of the God-Man in the world's history—why should we think it labor lost when extremes meet, when the old methods and the new are but different avenues leading to the same conclusion?

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

**Les Galla :** Un Peuple antique au pays de Ménélik. Par le R. P. Martial de Salviac, O.M.C., 2d ed. Paris: H. Oudin, 1902. Illustrated. 8°, pp. 353.

If the best books of travel and exploration in English are those of merchants and diplomats, the best in French are surely those written by the missionaries. From the days of the "Lettres Edifiantes" the French priest possesses a peculiar skill in combining with the story of his religious labors a multitude of observations and judgments, both interesting and valuable, on the public and private life of the strange peoples among whom he has taken up his abode.

For thirty-five years the late Cardinal Guglielmo Massaia had worked in Abyssinia as a Capuchin missionary, among the warlike tribes of the Galla or Oromo, whose ten million souls now form the backbone of that ancient empire, as lately compacted and rounded out by the great African statesman, the Emperor Menelik. The Letters and Memoirs of Cardinal Massaia are themselves a splendid chapter in the history of Catholic missions. But there was something to be gleaned even after him, and the pages of P. de Salviac will well repay any reader anxious to know what manner of men the modern Catholic missionaries of Abyssinian Africa are like. This charming volume introduces us to an almost absolutely unknown African people of superior worth, physically, religiously, and perhaps ethnologically. There is a tradition that the Galla are of Gaulish stock, the descendants of mercenaries of Gaul in the service of Carthage or Egypt, or of traders from the Mediterranean seaboard of continental Keldom. It is a fascinating thesis, and the arguments for it are persuasively put by Fr. de Salviac. The latter is an enthusiast, after the fashion of missionaries, for his chosen people. We must admit, however, that his text breathes sincerity and truth; also that the numerous illustrations bear out his contention that in the Galla tribes is to be found the proper native human element for the civilization of inner Africa, as far as it can be conducted from the tablelands of Abyssinia.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Documents Relatifs aux Rapports du Clergé avec la Royauté** (1682-1705; 1705-1789). Publiés par Léon Mention. Paris: Picard, 1903. 8°, pp. 183.

These two latest volumes of the "Collection de Textes" are of signal utility to the students of Church history. In them are to be found many original documents of the principal controversies between France and Rome in the latter part of the seventeenth and the greater part of the eighteenth century. These documents illustrate the Liberties of the Gallican Church, the Royal Franchises at Rome, the controversies on Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, the Maxims of the Saints, the Bulls *Vineam Domini* and *Unigenitus*, the Parliament and the Jansenists, the clerical estates, the suppression of the Jesuits. The teacher and the student of ecclesiastical history will find here highly interesting material, that otherwise they must look for in rare and often inaccessible books. Year by year the "Collection de Textes" grows in serviceableness, and now deserves a place in every library of history that contemplates personal investigation.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

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**St. Alphonse de Liguori** (1696-1787). Par le Baron J. Angot des Rotours. Paris: Lecoffre, 1903. 8°, pp. xviii + 182.

**The Life of Saint Philip Neri** (1515-1595), Apostle of Rome and Founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, from the Italian of Father Bacci, new and revised edition. By Frederick Ignatius Antrobus of the London Oratory. St. Louis: Herder, 1903. 2 vols., 8°, pp. 392, 447. \$3.75.

1. The story of Saint Alphonsus is, in its own way, the story of the religious life of Italy in the eighteenth century, likewise one of the most remarkable chapters in the long and tortuous history of Jansenism. Quite lately, in several European centres, his writings have been assailed with great bitterness and greater injustice—an extreme anti-Catholicism has seized upon his fundamental doctrine of probabilism, in order to make political capital out of misrepresentations of the same. This brief life in the collection of "Les Saints" is therefore very timely. It does not pretend to the fulness of detail of a Tannoia or of Fr. Berthe (Paris, 2 vols., 1900), yet it is suggestive and instinctive; if read with the "Letters" of the Saint, now accessible in French and English translations, it will suffice to bring before us in vivid outline, the figure of the man who found for the troubled consciences of great multitudes formulæ that were at once consoling and enlightening, without offending truth and justice, the man to whom are owing in great measure the popular Catholic forms of spiritual revival, together with similarly popular devotions and pious practices,—Italian and "Meridional" in their origin and form, it may be, yet attractive and puissant enough to secure adoption among Catholics of every other land, and to lend new color and variety to the immemorial liturgical life of the Church.

2. Shortly after the death of Saint Philip (1595), his disciple Gallonio produced in Latin (1600) an annalistic life of the saint. During the next hundred years his story was told more than twenty times in Italian prose, not to speak of three metrical lives and several in foreign languages. The most important of these lives was that of Father Bacci (1646), often re-edited, in 1670 by the Dominican Ricci, and in 1794 by a Venetian Oratorian. This life was (partially) published in English in 1847, and again in 1868. The lives by Bayle (1859), by Mrs. Hope (about 1868) and the brilliant narrative of Cardinal Capececiatello (1879) translated into English (1882), do not seem to have stilled the desire of English readers. Hence, Fr. Antrobus presents us with this new edition of Bacci, a work that has always been held remarkable for simplicity, historical dignity, and

straightforwardness. It contains in full the miracles of Saint Philip, that are especially interesting to the historian of life and manners in the Italy of that day. There are also (26) letters of Saint Philip, among them two or three of some length, written to his niece, a Florentine nun. They are characteristic of the saint and of the literary taste of his day. Some of them were first published by Biscioni in 1743, in his "Raccolta di Lettere di Santi e Beati Fiorentini"; a few of them would have appealed to von Reumont for a place in his admirable "Briefe gottesfürchtiger Italiener," so quaint and peculiar is their expression of the religious sentiment. These two volumes are worthy of a place in every ecclesiastical library, as the final English presentation of the classical life by Bacci, which was itself written out of the materials for the canonization process.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Christus und Apostelbilder:** Einfluss der apokryphen auf die ältesten Kunsttypen. Von J. E. Weis-Liebersdorf, with 54 illustrations. Freiburg: Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. ix + 124. \$1.50.

This conscientious study of all the oldest pictorial representations of Christ and the apostles is based upon a thorough knowledge of the actual monuments, and a close acquaintance with the modern literature that has grown out of their study. It is well known that the Gnostic literature of the second and third centuries offers frequently portraiture descriptions of Christ and the apostles, particularly of Saints Peter and Paul. Our Lord is always presented as a beardless, youthful, even child-like figure of great beauty,—from the latter half of the fourth century the figure of Christ on the sarcophagi, gilded glasses, catacomb frescoes and church mosaics, is that of a grave, bearded, majestic figure, with parted hair that flows down equally on both sides. It is also well known that all the orthodox Christian literature previous to Constantine insists on the absence of manly beauty and charm in Our Lord—His beauty was all moral and spiritual. When now the fairly numerous orthodox Christian monuments before Constantine depict Christ as a beardless youth, of genuine Hellenic beauty, it seems to be the result of Gnostic influences working through their apocryphal literature, or through Catholic adaptations and imitations of the same. Dr. Weis-Liebersdorf's book is full of the views and hypotheses of the latest students of the primitive Christian art-monuments that offer us figures or busts of Christ and the apostles. Notably new is the redating of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, whereby that admirable piece of Christian sculpture belongs not to the year 359, but a century earlier.

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Good use is made of the latest reproduction of these sculptures by Mgr. de Waal. In general, an earlier date is asserted, and with good arguments, for several ancient Christian monuments. In spite of the grave authority of Furtwangler, our author maintains, ingeniously and successfully, the traditional antiquity of the Vatican medallion of Saints Peter and Paul. The Berlin ivory pyxis, the Milan silver casket found in 1894, the Stryzowski sarcophagus-fragment at Berlin, the Cecil Torr gilded-glass fragments, and other rare monuments, are described at length. The notes offer a valuable up-to-date bibliography, and give the book a distinctive value. This book is one result of the teaching of the Catholic faculty of theology at Munich; it acknowledges, in particular, the inspiration and guidance of the distinguished professors of Church History and Patrology in that university.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Julien l'Apostat.** Par Paul Allard. Vols. II-III. Paris: Lecoffre, 1903. 8°, pp. 376, 416.

In the second volume of his life of Julian the Apostate M. Allard describes his career as pagan emperor, restorer of the old "cultus deorum," and convinced worshipper of the invincible Sun. The personal theology of Julian, his inimical attitude toward the "Galileans" his attempts to debar them from the schools and to reduce them to intellectual helplessness, are treated with all the competency that the severest critics acknowledge in M. Allard. In the new volume he deals with the sojourn of Julian in Antioch, now an overwhelmingly Christian city, consequently contemptuous of the former "Reader" in its Church. The conflagration of the temple of Daphne, and the vengeance of Julian, his book "Against the Christians," and his attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem, round out the short-lived reign of the emperor that closes with the disasters of the Persian campaign and the death of the last member of that Flavian house which for nearly a century had exercised an ever-widening influence on the imperial world. Perhaps the most instructive pages of the work are the last sixty in which are enumerated and discussed the authorities, pagan and Christian, for the life of Julian.

For many years M. Allard has dealt at first hand with the texts, monuments, inscriptions, and literary remains of the imperial period, notably the third and fourth centuries. He is eminently qualified, by many learned volumes and articles, to deal with those two brief years of the sixth decade of the fourth century when the spiritual welfare of humanity truly hung trembling in the balance. All told, the line of progress was through Christianity, the line of retrogres-



sion was through the exhausted institutions of polytheism. Julian himself was obliged to confess that, without borrowing from the hated Galilæans, he could not revive the fortunes of Ethnicism or "Hellenism," as he was fond of calling it. It will always be a significant proof of the depth of the Christian transformation of imperial society that with the passing of Julian, life at once took on its former Christian character, while only here and there an impotent philosopher murmured in the accents of Plato against the decrees of an irresistible fate. The revolution of Julian was not based on popular convictions or sympathies, but on the academic pagan mysticism of a coterie of dreamers, at once doctrinaire and unreal. The sober tolerance of Jovian and Valentinian is another index that the temperament of the army and the civil service was henceforth Christian—measures of repression were not needed, at least in the Orient. Many great families in the Eternal City remained pagan yet, and a generation must elapse before the defeat of Eugenius and the Sack of Rome set a final seal on the collapse of the old Roman religion. In the meantime, the Theodosian legislation could consummate the work begun by the laws of Constantine against the worship of the gods. Like a new and heady wine, the triumphant religion penetrated in every direction the body politic and social, roused and urged, stimulated and inspired, until all memories of the Julian reaction were forgotten, only to reappear as a rallying banner when Christianity once more found itself in a parlous state not dissimilar to that which obtained under Julian, and which public opinion not unjustly crystallized in the famous contemporary legend that represents Julian transfixed by an arrow and scattering heavenward the blood from his gushing wound, with the despairing cry: "Galilæe, vicisti!"

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Un Pape Français: Urbain II (1088-1099).** Par Lucien Paulot, de l'Oratoire de S. Philippe de Néri. Préface de Georges Goyau. Paris: Lecoffre, 1903. 8°, pp. xxxvi + 562.

The Cardinal Odo de Lageri, of Châtillon-sur-Marne, was one of the chosen lieutenants of Gregory VII in the latter's warfare against the simony and concubinage of the clergy and the abuse of investitures by the civil power. When he took up, a few years later, the work that had fallen from the hands of his mighty predecessor, he brought to the task a choice experience gathered in court, curia, and monastery, for he had been a monk at Cluny, and legate of the Holy See, as well as an intimate personal friend of Gregory VII. Henry IV and his antipope, Wigbert of Ravenna, disputed with him the

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possession of the Eternal City, and kept him a wanderer in Southern Italy during the early part of his reign. Here the sympathies of the Norman over-lords and the piety of the monks of Cava and Monte Cassino made up partially for the loss of the papal stronghold. Unceasingly he upheld the principles of Gregory VII, yet not without mercy and moderation in dealing with individuals. He is, indeed, one of the noblest and holiest of the long line of superior men with whom Cluny endowed the Church of the eleventh century. The idea of the Crusade, that may have dawned vaguely a century before in the mind of Sylvester II, was preached with extraordinary eloquence and success by Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095. Fr. Paulot strives very hard to vindicate for this pope the sole proprietorship of the idea of the Crusade, yet it must be admitted that he might have taken it over from his master in statecraft, Gregory VII, who certainly had in view the succor of Constantinople, from which to the conquest of Palestine the transition is not far. Gregory died (1085) in the midst of his conflict with the emperor—the succeeding popes changed little in his plans and methods, for they were, like him, the instruments of a policy that had been long before excogitated near Mâcon in the solitudes of the vast abbey by the winding Grosne. May it not be that from Cluny, too, came the original masterly concept of a military enterprise, that should at once distract the public attention from the *impasse* of an embittered domestic conflict, arouse and console scandalized faith, unite discordant ecclesiastical and civil elements, and elevate the papacy in public opinion by bringing it again into close personal contact with the Sepulchre of its divine founder, as though seeking a new consecration and a new mission?

Fr. Paulot follows almost slavishly the chronological order in his narrative—much space is thereby lost by repetition of similar events, consecrations of churches and altars, visits of monasteries, judicial decisions, and the like. A multitude of interesting details are scattered through the volume, that might well have been collected under suitable rubrics; for instance, the evidences of the pope's concern for the welfare of the monasteries might well have been worked into a general description of the nature and workings of the wonderful establishment of Cluny and its almost countless filial houses. There is wanting, too, a chapter on the political, economical, and social conditions of the time; the helplessness and degradation of the diocesan clergy can only be understood fully in the light of its poverty, imperfect recruitment, dependency, and the uncertainty of peaceful tenure owing to the yoke of feudalism and the dubious status of a

multitude of bishops, distracted for a whole generation between pope and emperor. The original sources are not described and evaluated, as is usual in a work of this kind, an omission all the more regrettable as Fr. Paulot does not spare his adjectives in dealing with the historians of the emperor's party. Some account of the famous "*libelli de lite imperatoris et papæ*," was really needed to enable the reader to judge with impartiality. Similarly a description of the authorities for the preaching of the first Crusade would have been welcome, an easy task after the great labors of Riant and Röhrich. There is no index to the book, always a grave blemish, and particularly so in a work filled with details. The bibliography is incomplete and badly arranged. The German literature on the subject is drawn on with a sparing hand, and in general the work takes on the air of a panegyric—a superabundance of light with a minimum of shadow. The pages on the "*cursus leoninus*" outline the results of several charming literary studies on the peculiarly musical papal style of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which owes its introduction to that brilliant master of the "*ars dictaminis*," Urban II. For the "*cultus*" of the pope Fr. Paulot has brought together all the available evidence beginning with the veneration shown his memory by the monks of his beloved Cava. The veneration of the Blessed Virgin owes not a little to this pope—to him are referred the Ave Maris Stella, the mass *Salve Sancta Parens*, the evening Angelus, the Little Hours of Our Lady, the Saturday office in her honor, whether with accuracy or not remains unsettled. In spite of some drawbacks of form and construction this work is an excellent one and destined to bring out favorably the figure of a great French pope who feared no king, not even his own, and who, for the decade of his reign, held aloft the banner of the papacy on the sublime height where the most dauntless of that long line had placed it.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**The English Church in the Sixteenth Century** from the accession of Henry VIII to the death of Mary. By James Gairdner, C.B. New York: Macmillan, 1902. 8°, pp. xvii + 430.

The generally flattering reception given by the English-reading world to this latest history of the Reformation in England is well deserved. We have at last an honest and reliable account of that great religious revolution from the pen of a man fitted in every way to perform the task. Only one fault—if fault it be—can be urged. It is not brilliant as a story. For which reason Froude's travesties on the same period are still likely to prove the storehouse of informa-

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tion for the average non-student reader. But is it a fault? There are two ways of writing history. One, the older, is to start out with a preconceived thesis and group around it artistically all the facts that have any relations to it. So wrote Froude. As a result we have a fascinating story, but precious little history. The other, that followed by the author, is to tell the facts chronologically, just as he finds them, leaving them to produce their natural conclusion unassisted by any historical philosophy of the author. The result is a plain, unvarnished tale, rather tedious in the recital, but anyhow it is history, pure and simple, and that is what the English world has been in need of ever since England cut loose, or was cut loose, from the communion of the Church.

What do the facts tell as we find them in this book? They tell with irresistible logic that the English Reformation was due almost entirely to the evil passions of one man, Henry VIII. To the new school of sociological historians, in whose calculations the individual, be he king or serf, plays but a small part in the making of history, such a conclusion will come as a disagreeable shock. But it is difficult to see how any reader can avoid accepting this conclusion if he has already accepted the premises, *i. e.*, the facts; and Mr. Gairdner's position as keeper of the state records of the Reformation period is ample warrant for accepting them. All through that tangled web of religious politics we can trace with ease the one dominant policy of Henry—namely, to secure his divorce from Katherine, to stave off foreign criticism of it by keeping the sovereigns of Europe at loggerheads with one another, to crush out criticism at home by coercing Parliament, by encouraging heresy and killing anyone bold enough to oppose him. A reviewer, of course, cannot go into all these details, but if ever a nation of free people was bedevilled, befooled, and dragooned out of its faith, that nation was England, the boasted land of civil and religious liberty. The mother of parliaments had become the slave and the mistress of royal absolutism. Far more truthfully than Louis XIV could Henry Tudor say of himself "I am the State." Once embarked on his downward course, he pursued it with characteristic Tudor obstinacy. At his death it was too late to bring England back to the old faith. Though, had a Catholic immediately succeeded him, or had even poor Mary been more skilful, enough might have been won back to constitute a respectable party. As it is, blunder succeeded blunder on the part of the Catholic leaders, until practically all was lost by the end of Elizabeth's reign.

The question arises, how was it possible for one man, even a

tyrant, to thus succeed, contrary to the plain wishes of his people? The answer is indeed difficult. The psychology of the English Reformation is one of the most baffling studies in all history. But we think Mr. Gairdner has struck upon the right solution. Briefly put, it is this: "The greater part of the clergy and bishops resigned themselves to the new state of affairs, which many thought so forced and artificial that it *could not possibly last long*" (p. 155); but when it did last then the leaders in the Church were like Cranmer "compelled to face the question as to the *true relations between Church and State* in a way which no one thinks of in these days of ease; and he was conscious that the old spiritual empire of Rome, dependent, as it had been all along, on the support of Christian princes and nations, could no longer be maintained when one powerful sovereign cast it off. If the act of that sovereign was not an intolerable outrage to the whole of Christendom, compelling other princes to treat Henry as an enemy, no less dangerous than the Turk, then it followed that the Church of England must obey the ruler of England in things both temporal and spiritual. And if so, then it further followed that doctrines which were, in the last resort, only upheld by papal authority could not be essential doctrines of Christianity" (pp. 375-376); "And however little men loved royal authority over the Church, it was certainly a question which perplexed some consciences whether resistance was even justifiable; for if the king took upon him the responsibility of supreme headship, and had so much power to make his position respected, was it not after all, a right thing to obey?" (p. 197). "Responsibility must always rest with him who has absolute power, and dares to go all lengths" (198).

At first reading, and from a point of view of strict logic such a view will appear absurd. But it nevertheless contains the key to the understanding of that period of English history. The fundamental reason of the success of the Reformation in England (and perhaps everywhere else) was not its quality of heresy. Heresy, it is true, came *pari passu*. But the efficient cause was a political one. Ever since the days of Wycliffe and Marsiglio of Padua, the one great fact of Church history was the ever-increasing absorption of the Church by the State. Friends during the Middle Ages proper, they are bitter foes from Dante to Luther. With Luther the State is supreme. Here is the core, the fibre, the *raison d'être*, the quintessence of Protestantism. This is what keeps it alive to-day, when as a theological and philosophical system it is an acknowledged failure and as an historical expression of the Church of Christ it is a contradiction in terms. It never was a heresy fundamentally,

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though heresy of every conceivable variety sprung from it. It was a world-wide sociological and political revolution, destructive of all the traditional relations, political, financial, legal and social, between the Church universal and each particular nation. The Church had crushed the Empire. The nations of Europe in part have crushed her. Until she is once again free, until the hand of the State is off her throat, she will not recover her lost ground. But that is a consummation afar off, unless we realize the true nature of that Reformation, cease fighting its theological absurdities, things of straw, and transfer the battle to the only plane upon which we can come to a final issue, namely, the relations of Church and State, the proper limits of each, the proper duties of each.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

NOTRE DAME COLLEGE, BALTIMORE.

**L'Apollinarisme.** Etude historique, littéraire et dogmatique sur le début des controverses christologiques au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Par Guillaume Voisin. Louvain: Van Linthout, 1901. Pp. 429.

This volume embodies the author's doctorate dissertation presented to the Catholic University of Louvain. Highly creditable and timely in view of the unsympathetic research which rationalists of late have been conducting in the field of christology, this dissertation is a distinct contribution to the unravelling of an historical and theological tangle. The presentation is clear, the criticism cogent, and the reconstruction original as well as suggestive.

Apollinaris of Laodicea was the first to precipitate the discussion of christology proper when, about the middle of the fourth century he raised the question: what is the mode of union of the divine person of Christ with his human nature? Up to this time, during the Arian and Trinitarian controversies, the object of investigation and debate had been the divine rather than the human side of Christ, his relations to the Father rather than his relations to the humanity which he assumed. Arius, it is true, had previously contended that the "lesser" divinity of Christ was united to a soulless human body. But this theory of Arius seems to have escaped the attention of most of the Fathers, intent on safeguarding the divinity of the Son, and wholly absorbed in questions concerning the Trinity. In fact, this preoccupation with other theological interests is sufficient in itself to account for the failure during this period to discuss what a union of the divine and the human formally implied.

Apollinaris shifted the theological debate from the divine to the human side of Christ, and thus deserves to be singled out among



heresiarchs as one who contributed to the development of Christian doctrine. A teacher of rhetoric in his early years, a skillful dialectician, hebraist, and exegete, to whom, in the latter capacity, St. Jerome acknowledges his indebtedness as a pupil; a man of irreproachable moral life, a staunch defender of the Trinity, and afterwards bishop of his own native Laodicea, he fell a victim to the difficulty which the union of two perfect natures in a single person presented to his reason. This was the rock of scandal to the faith of one who had so stoutly defended the doctrine of consubstantiality as to win the favor and esteem of the most illustrious doctors of his time; who had so opposed the dualism of the Antiochians and put the personal unity of Christ beyond the reach of their captious criticism that the very force of the reaction, one might almost say, carried him over to the other extreme, and led him to champion the view that the divine Person of the Son was united to a human body without soul or intelligence. The aged Fathers who had already borne the brunt of the Arian attack, were again compelled to take the field, this time against an old companion in arms who, by his prestige, piety and learning, had become all the more dangerous as an enemy.

After thus introducing Apollinaris to his readers, the author shows very clearly that the profession of faith in the integrity of Christ's human nature made by the Fathers at the Council of Alexandria in 362 was not restricted to a condemnation of Arianism, but extended to Apollinarism as well, although Apollinaris himself was as yet not suspected of heresy, having made no public statement of his views. It was after the Council and during the lively debates to which this profession of faith gave rise, that Apollinaris went over to the enemy. This contention of the author strikes at the root of the counter-theories proposed by Harnack and Stölcken; it also helps to vindicate Athanasius from the charge—preferred by Stölcken—of having been at heart an adherent of Apollinaris.

But what led the bishop of Laodicea to precipitate this issue concerning the human constitution of Christ? The general opinion has been that the Arian doctrine was the prime source of his inspiration: he simply foresaw and stated the conclusions to which Arianism inevitably led. The author finds such a view untenable in the light of later research, and adduces solid proof from history as well as from textual study that Apollinaris was a product of the religious spirit of the Antiochians and the rationalizing tendency of the Alexandrians, an Aristotelian without a spark of Platonism in his mental life. While the Fathers were still defending the Trinitarian doctrines of the Council of Nice, Apollinaris was absorbed in the question

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of Christ's unity, for which he sought a rational explanation. A new problem thus arose in his mind out of the very circumstances and needs of his own peculiar environment. He tried to solve it and failed; a problem that was local and almost personal then became the common concern of all; Apollinaris hitherto in conflict with the Antiochians found himself at odds with the Church, and his condemnation soon followed. The author next describes how Apollinaris was gradually led to admit a division of human nature into body, soul, and spirit, and to contend that in Christ the divinity replaced the spirit and entered into direct union with a body whose soul was purely animal. Pressed by his adversaries to acknowledge in Christ a perfect man, he had to fall back upon trichotomy as a last resort, and by quotations from Scripture endeavor to establish that man's nature was threefold and not dual. Here again the influences that formed him are to be sought in the concrete necessities of the controversy in which he was engaged, and not in any special attachment to the doctrine of trichotomy which he adopted merely because he found it a most serviceable means of self-defense.

The rapid rise of Apollinarism was followed by an equally rapid decline. After the heresiarch's death the secular arm was stretched out to put a stop to the spread of this doctrine among his followers. The disastrous influence exercised by Apollinaris over all those who professed with him the unity of Christ's nature left a serpent's trail over the several phases of Monophysism that subsequently appeared during the fifth and sixth centuries. This influence was greatly aided and abetted by the fraud of disciples who endeavored to secure a respectable patronage for their views by ascribing to Julius, Gregory, Athanasius and others works that were afterwards, but too late to avert consequences, found to be productions of Apollinaris himself. The origin of Eutychianism the author regards as chiefly due to this fraudulent tradition invented by the Apollinarists to give likelihood to their contentions.

This first part of the author's work is highly suggestive because of the fuller critical knowledge with which he approaches the history of Apollinarism. Full justice cannot be done his presentment within the space allotted to this review. Suffice it to say that in his introductory review of the development of Christology, the sources and literature of the subject, as well as in the study of the influences which determined Apollinaris to beat out a new path of theological inquiry he has added to the quality, and sometimes to the sum of human knowledge. The latter addition is seen in the fuller light which he has thrown upon the hitherto fragmentary history of the Apollinarist

sect after the death of the founder, no less than in the tracing of the influence which Apollinaris exercised on the recrudescence of Gnostic speculations in the fifth century.

The second part of the work is taken up with a study of the Apollinarist literature as known to the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries; the fraud of the disciples and its temporary success; the authentic writings of Apollinaris and his followers; the Apollinarian source of the pseudepigraphies; the writings to be attributed to the disciples and those falsely ascribed to the heresiarch himself. Meagre material for reconstructing the doctrine of Apollinaris is to be found in the works of his adversaries, whose general acquaintance with the Laodicean's views, while undoubted, does not imply familiarity with particular writings; and so the author wisely avoids conjecture and sets forth what the facts warrant in the case of each individual. Were it not for the fraud of the disciples in attaching honored names to their master's writings, but little could be known with surety concerning this heresy. The success which this fraud met with was due to the judicious distribution of the master's heretical ideas among doctrines of an orthodox nature on the unity of Christ and the Trinity, which he had earlier held in common with his contemporaries. Egypt was probably the place in which the fraud was first perpetrated, and it seems strange that Saint Cyril failed to detect it when drawing so largely upon interpolated sources to refute Nestorius. Yet, such was the case. Not until John, bishop of Scythopolis in Galilee, had found some old copies of the heresiarch's writings about the middle of the sixth century was the fraud fully unmasked, to which result the unknown author of the "*Adversus fraudes Apollinaristarum*" had about the same time contributed.

In the critical reconstruction of the works of Apollinaris which the author next undertakes, there is much of value and interest to the student of Church history and the development of dogma. The supposed profession of faith made by the Council of Nice against Paul of Samosata is shown by the author to be quite possibly due to the fraudulent insertion of Apollinarists; likewise the ascription to Athanasius of works that reveal the mind of the Laodicean and the hand of his disciples. The author recognizes the value which the pretended correspondence between Apollinaris and Basil would have for reconstructing the history of the sect, but does not regard these letters as authentic. The second part of the author's work is a fine piece of historical criticism.

After thus determining his sources, the author proceeds to reconstruct the christological view professed by Apollinaris. The

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third part of the volume is devoted to this dogmatic study, and presents many features out of the ordinary which are worthy of attention.

Apollinaris worked out a detailed system of christology. The first to put the question how the divine and human elements in Christ are united in one and the same person, he was also the first to propose a solution of this knotty problem. Accepting on faith the fact of Christ's unity, he endeavored to explain it on the principles of Aristotle's philosophy which drew no distinction between nature and person, but considered both terms as wholly correlative. The result was the doctrine of a single nature in support of which the analogy of the union between the human soul and body was frequently adduced, although not regarded by Apollinaris as a perfect parity. He did not admit any degradation of the divine nature, or interfusion of the divine and human in the Incarnate Word, as has been so often stated, neither did he hold to any transformation of the divine. Such crudities formed no part of his christological system. He simply denied that Christ possessed a thinking and willing human spirit, conceding at the same time the possession of an animal soul. The reason for this denial was the consequence which he foresaw in an acknowledgment of a perfect human nature in Christ. As nature was the same as person to his way of thinking, the admission of a complete human nature in the God-Man would entail the admission of two persons, and this would destroy the fact revealed by faith that Christ was a concrete unity, a truth which he would not sacrifice at any cost.

The author next reconstructs the views of Apollinaris on the consequences of the incarnate union, and shows how the defective language employed by the Laodicean contributed to fix upon him unjustly the doctrines that Christ was consubstantial in the flesh with God and that his body preexisted. Of course, it was foregone according to his principles that Apollinaris should deny all strictly human acts to Christ and refuse to him the possession of a human will. The soteriology of the heresiarch, which the author sets forth in detail shows how consistently, though not without fault, a solution had been attempted in those early days. In successive chapters the author explains the gradual misunderstanding which was the fate of these many views of the Laodicean; examines into the opposition of the Fathers to his doctrine; criticizes the extreme interpretations put upon the language of the Fathers by Dorner and Harnack, who deny that the latter professed any more clearly than Apollinaris himself the distinction of natures in Christ; sets forth the teaching of the

Church, and discusses the relation of Apollinarism to the progress of dogma. In a final appendix the Trinitarian doctrine of Apollinaris is reviewed, and certainly the author is right in contesting the statement of Harnack, that the Bishop of Laodicea was the chief promoter of orthodox teaching on the Trinity, and the statement of Draeseke that he was "facile princeps" among the doctors of his time.

What the author has to say with regard to the relation of Apollinarism to the development of Christian doctrine is specially significant in the light of recent events and deserves at least a brief consideration.

Apollinaris, it will be remembered, gave a new direction to theological inquiry when he drew attention away from the divine side of Christ to the human, when he concentrated men's minds on the Incarnation rather than on the Trinity. The result was a development and expansion of doctrine which the critic must perforce interpret in relation to what had gone before. Was this development a substitution of one doctrine for another in the Hegelian sense, or a working over of Gospel data into formulas acceptable to the cultured minds of the Greeks, as Harnack would have it, or only a more complete, more scientific expression of the traditional faith of the Church, exhibiting continuity and identity as well as progress?

To assure one's self that there was no change in the objective deposit of revelation, one has but to note the fact that the primitive Church believed that Jesus Christ was at the same time God and Man and registered this belief in the Apostles' Creed, which was undeniably in use at Rome toward the close of the first century or at the beginning of the second, even in the admission of extreme critics who have not fully made out their case for this late origin of it. The Council of Chalcedon only reaffirmed this baptismal profession of faith in the God-Man when it defined the doctrine of one person in two natures, and so we have the conservation of the essential idea throughout as the first and chief mark of true development.

Besides, the definition of a truth as the object of universal belief is no proof of novelty or change, if instances of its formal profession preceded the definition. Of course, the positive doctrines of Christ true God consubstantial with the Father, true Man endowed with a perfect human nature, were not the object of scientific research, nor systematically set forth in their mutual relations at the very beginning. They were believed without being investigated. It is only by confounding the constant and continuous element of faith with the slowly formulated analysis of it, by mistaking systematic interpretations of revealed facts for the arbitrary intrusion of new beliefs that the rationalist is enabled to construct his theory of development as the successive substitution of one doctrine for another.

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The doctrine of the two natures in Christ affirmed by the Church of the fourth century on the occasion of the controversy with Apollinaris is a peremptory refutation of the theory that an objective change was introduced into the deposit of revelation. The Church then believed that Christ is truly man, come really in the flesh as the world's Redeemer. Apollinaris himself is witness to the fact that this was the universal persuasion accepted indisputably by all. Then Apollinaris raised the question whether the Christ possessed a rational soul. What was implicitly believed hitherto, was thereupon explicitly declared against his denial; and declared not as an extension, but as the very content of Christian truth from the beginning.

It was Apollinaris, not the Fathers, who introduced a change into the objective deposit; he, not they, sought to corrupt the belief. The Bishop of Laodicea furnished an occasion to the Church to express more precisely her belief in the Incarnation, but had nothing whatever to do with the Catholic solution of the problem which the Church stated. So cogent is this historical fact of the influence of tradition on the development of Christian doctrine that the rationalist recognizes its force to the full, when he seeks to find in the fourth Gospel and the distinction there made between the "Word" and the "Flesh" an anticipation of the Christology of Apollinaris which denied to the Logos the assumption of a human soul. The rationalist projects into the earliest Christian past a theory of the fourth century, fastens it upon some loosely employed hebraic expressions, and thereby secures, as he thinks, two hostile traditions which he thereupon proceeds to play off against each other as a serviceable means for showing how Apollinaris, and none other but he, drank fully of the well of Christian doctrine undefiled.

We recommend this volume to the careful consideration of professors and students of Church History and Dogma. Now that the idea of development is in the air an ounce of induction is worth a pound of theory. Facts may not always speak so loudly as words, but they speak more cogently. To have the literature on Apollinarism collected, sifted, criticized, and corrected is a distinct advantage. To have the early sources of Christology judiciously discussed, is a still greater gain. For these reasons we wish this volume of Doctor Voisin a wide circulation.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

**Onward and Upward.** A Year-Book compiled from the discourses of Archbishop Keane by Maurice Francis Egan. Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1902. 8°, pp. 387.

According to the preface of this compilation, "its main object is



to give to earnest men and women, often too busy for long meditation, a spiritual keynote for each day in the year. And Archbishop Keane knows our country and the human heart, our conditions and our struggles and temptations so well, that from the work of no other man could be drawn sentiments at once so spiritual and so practical, so stimulating and so sustaining for the great mass of the American people." The twelve sections of the work are entitled Right Living, Religion, Home, Education, The Ideal Woman, The Ideal Man, Civilization, The Social Ideal, America, Progress, Art, Brotherhood, Death and Resurrection. For each day a thought is selected from the discourses of Archbishop Keane, corresponding to these general headings; thus a body of doctrine is brought together, at once brief, compact, well-divided, and easily assimilable. The purpose of these thoughts, scattered only in appearance, is eminently a helpful and directive one—excellent educational principles and suggestions, for young and old, are to be found all through the work, and not alone in the chapter specially dedicated to that topic. The editor rightly says that it is impossible to transfer to the printed page the many oratorical qualities of the Archbishop of Dubuque. Nevertheless, it is equally impossible for any reader to peruse these pages without catching something of the unction and the candor of the writer, something of the abundant persuasiveness of his manner and character. Possibly many readers will draw solace, encouragement, and inspiration from these echoes of a long and fruitful career as a preacher of Catholic truth who would never read through the original discourses themselves.

A table of contents and an index of subjects treated would improve the work. We wish it the widespread circulation it deserves, and trust that it is only the forerunner of other contributions to our ecclesiastical literature from the pen of one who needs no introduction to an American audience, and to praise whose constant zeal and charity in the work of his ministry would be almost an impertinence, so much are they household words among us.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**La Sociologie Positiviste: Comte.** By Maurice Defourney, Institut Supérieur de Philosophie. Louvain, 1902. 1 vol., 8°, pp. 370.

This volume on the life and doctrine of Auguste Comte is an interesting addition to the literature of Sociology. It appears in the series of philosophical publications issued by the Institute of Philosophy in the University of Louvain and is certainly a creditable addition to it.

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After a brief sketch of the life of Comte, the author presents a lucid exposition of his theory of sociology. The second part of the work contains a systematic critical appreciation of the theory. That is followed by a brief synopsis of the permanent elements in Comte's teaching, and by several documents which show the relation of positivism to Catholicity and to Socialism. The author has done his work with every evidence of care and of fairness. While not a believer in Comte as a philosopher, there is scarcely a trace of prejudice against him in any part of the exposition. The critical portion of the work is admirable for the objective manner in which the author attempts to set aside the social theory of the great positivist.

The interest in Comte and his sociology is not as great as formerly, though interest in sociology itself was never greater. Comte is of course a permanent character in the history of sociological theory. His merit is very great for having pointed to the field of the science before it had explorers. Those who are unacquainted with him and his works will find in Dr. Defourney's volume a most attractive and useful introduction to that study. It has been said often that what is permanent in the six volumes of Comte's Philosophy, might be expressed in a couple of paragraphs. The author proves the statement by doing so. The variety of influences which have affected sociology since his time has been so great that the science has drifted far away from the point where Comte discovered it. However, Comte emphasized the question of method—and method is still the vital thing to sociology. Hence Dr. Defourney's volume is very useful to the sociologist who would study Comte for the sake of knowing his method and of seeing it applied to the whole field of social phenomena.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

**The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America**, with special relation to their early cartographical representation. By Joseph Fischer, S.J., translated from the German by Basil H. Soulsby, B.A. St. Louis: Herder, 1903. 8°, pp. xxiv + 130.

That hardy Norsemen had reached the American coast as early as the year 1000, and that for two centuries at least, more or less frequent relations existed between the Northern lands and the new discoveries, has long been admitted. The epoch-making work of Carl Christian Rafn entitled "*Antiquitates Americanæ*" (1839) made known such convincing documents from Norse literature that the thesis has never since been gainsaid with success. But to what extent were these discoveries known through Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? Did they ever find their way into the mediæval

maps or navigators' charts of that period known as "portulanos?" What probability is there that this information drifted into Southern Europe in the course of the fifteenth century, to become one of the sources of the faith of Columbus in a western world? Distinguished scholars, Norse and German, French and Italian, have long been busy at the genesis of the earliest maps of the New World, particularly at the additions to Ptolemy, which begin with the Dane Claudius Clavus, in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and show the outline of the great Norse discovery of "Engroneland" or Greenland. It would seem that this now famous Dane had his work executed in Italy, and was thus the first known oral witness to make known to the peninsula the outlines of the nearest portion of the New World.

Another Northern savant, Donnus Nicolaus Germanus, learned German priest and humanist, perhaps printer and miniaturist, issued a work known as "Cosmographia" in 1466, 1470, and in 1482—in the second and third editions are found maps of the Northern lands and Greenland. The second edition is dedicated to Paul II (1464–1471), though the original edition was prepared at the expense of Duke Borsio d'Este and dedicated to him. There were, therefore, current in Italy during the fifteenth century manuscripts of Ptolemy, which contained maps of Greenland, though the American coast of Helluland, Markland and Wineland the Good does not appear. A letter of Nicholas V. dated 1448, deals with the wretched condition of the inhabitants of Greenland, and another of Alexander VI, given in 1492 or 1493, bears witness not only to the extremity of their temporal and spiritual destitution, but also to an accurate knowledge of the climatic conditions. There are therefore excellent cartographical and historical reasons for believing that in fifteenth century Italy some general knowledge of Greenland was current enough for a man like Columbus to become possessed of it, nor is it necessary to send the Genoese navigator to Iceland to hear from Bishop Magnus of Skalholt the story of the Norse discoveries. Though the earliest Icelandic maps of these American discoveries date only from the end of the sixteenth century, there is a fifteenth century "portulano" that shows to the south of Greenland a little circular island called Markland. Columbus may have seen such a map. In another map of the year 1500 there appear, besides Greenland (*Illa Verde*), the islands of *Frixlanda* and *Brazil*. Already in 1498 merchants of Bristol had for seven years been sending out annually two, three, and even four caravels in search of this island of *Brazil*—not improbably the *Hy-Brasil* of the mediæval Irish, that "*insula Sancti Brendani*" which disappeared from the maps only in the eighteenth century, after holding its own on

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every portulano or navigator's chart since the fourteenth. The news and the nature of these Norse discoveries would naturally travel to Rome with bishops, pilgrims, penitents, students, merchants, monks, and other classes of the Norse population regularly drawn thither, as Werlauff pithily says, by "*pietatis studium, absolutio, negotia.*" The most northern bishoprics were founded in the twelfth century—Lund in 1104, Drontheim in 1152, Holar in Iceland in 1106, the Faröes in 1152, and Gardar in Greenland, 1123. Cardinal Nicholas of Albano, afterwards Hadrian IV, was legate in Norway from 1154 to 1159, nor was he the only papal legate to visit the far North. Crusading Danes rested long in Constantinople and Rome, and the port of Bergen was at the same time a much frequented one by travellers and merchants from many parts of Europe.

The work of Fr. Fischer is at once the latest and most instructive of the numerous introductions to the history of these early discoveries of America. He has had the good fortune to discover at Wolfegg Castle in Germany, not only the only known manuscript of the third edition of the "*Cosmographia*" of Donnus Nicolaus Germanus, but also the long lost first map of Martin Waldseemüller, executed in 1507, the map that showed to the world for the first time the name America.

Scarcely less important is his discovery, in the same place, of the *Carta Marina* of 1516, also executed by Waldseemüller. By these discoveries and labors, Fr. Fischer has linked his name to those of Von Wieser, Storm, Ruge, Nordenskiöld and other littérateurs of the Northern geography of the fifteenth century. His work, notably pp. 57-107, may serve as an introduction to their minute researches in a hitherto untrodden field. As a preliminary to his cartographical chapters, Fr. Fischer discusses all the known historical evidence for Norse discoveries and settlements in America. His knowledge of the sources and of the modern literature is quite extensive, and his critical method sane and scholarly. Indeed he rather leans to the extreme in his unwillingness to accept some traditional theses—in this peculiar *silva* of materials one must abate somewhat the pretensions of a too strict criticism. We miss in the bibliography the remarkable work of Edward Payne, "*History of the New World called America*" (1892, 1899), and the "*Brendaniana*" of Fr. O'Donoghue (1893).

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Papst Innocenz XI und Ungarns Befreiung von der Türkenherrschaft.** Von Wilhelm Fraknói, aus dem Ungarischen übersetzt von Dr. Peter Jekel. Freiburg: B. Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. vii + 288.

One of the immediate results of the revolt of Luther was an in-

crease of military activity on the part of the Osmanli, then fresh from the conquest of Constantinople and hopeful of planting the banner of the Crescent in all the other centres of Christendom. The great battle of Mohács (1526) made the Turk master of the fairest lands of Hungary and set him up as an European power. One of the great national romances of history is the struggle then inaugurated by the Magyars against the Turkish yoke, a struggle that fills the best part of two centuries (1526-1685), and ended only with the successful siege of Ofen in the latter year. Thereby the capital of Hungary was won back for the nation and Christianity. With that famous siege closed the splendid series of Christian successes—the Relief of Vienna (1683), the naval victory of Navarinna (1685)—that relieve the otherwise calamitous annals of the seventeenth century. It has been almost forgotten that the soul of the combination between Poland and Austria, whereby the liberation of Hungary became possible, was Pope Innocent XI, Benedetto Odescalchi. It was he who won over Poland and secured the leadership of the chivalrous Sobieski, he who kept up an uneasy peace between Louis XIV and the Hapsburgs, he who poured into the ruined treasury of the latter the incredible sums of money that made possible the vast operations of that famous decade and utterly surpassed all the capacities of the Turk, he who confiscated for the national cause one third of all the property of the Hungarian monks, and secured soldiers and money from many of the German and Austrian feudatories of the empire. His memory is otherwise held in benediction for his manly courage and his high devotion to the interests of the papacy, but nowhere has he right to a higher honor than in Hungary that owes him its national existence and unity. All historians acknowledge that the critical hour of life or death had struck for that people. James II of England declared that for many centuries no pope had deserved so well of Christendom. The pope's nephew, Livio Odescalchi, was made Duke of Sirmium, and in 1751 the Hungarian Assembly conferred on his son the rights of citizenship, declaring that the nation still held in grateful memory the zeal, solicitude, and generosity of his ancestor, whereby the sworn enemy of Europe and Christianity was rendered powerless forever. The Odescalchi are still an influential family of Hungary, and may boast of a title to nobility second to none in Europe. In 1885 Hungary celebrated the second centenary of the Siege of Ofen, and on that occasion one of her most scholarly historians, William Fraknói, published a learned volume that revealed all the merits of the great pope, in diplomacy, encouragement, cooperation and generosity. This work now appears in a German translation, and is well worthy of

attentive perusal by all who are interested in the public and political history of the papacy. *Ex pede Herculem*. This last chapter of the Crusades, for that is what it is, deserves to be forever remembered. Were it not for the Bishops of Rome there would be to-day no Christian Europe. From Jerusalem to Vienna, from Lepanto to Navarinna, from Constantinople to Ofen, the Turk met everywhere in the papacy a foeman worthy of his faith, his steel, and his undeniable courage. Were it not for the irremediable domestic schism, that enemy would long since have driven him from the Golden Horn and given back to Christian worship and service, Christian love and Christian polity, art and life, the glorius spaces of Sancta Sophia and all they stand for. *Veniat sicut mercenarii optata dies!*

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**The Philosophy of the Christian Religion.** By A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902. 8°, pp. xxviii + 583.

"This book may be described as an attempt to do two things: first, to explain religion through nature and man; and secondly, to construe Christianity through religion"—such, in the author's words, is the purpose of this remarkable work. In the first part of the book Dr. Fairbairn lays the philosophical foundations of the Christian religion; in the second part he deals directly with "the central fact and idea" of the Christian faith.

Religion rests on a basis of reason. Hence our author begins with a philosophy of nature. He shows that nature must be conceived through the supernatural and that man is the key of all mysteries. In stating the case for Theism Principal Fairbairn faces frankly what is the main apology for agnostic pessimism—the problem of evil. He makes no new contribution of thought to the venerable controversy, but he restates and reaffirms with much force and eloquence the theistic solution of the question: "if it were good to have moral beings under moral law, evil must be permitted." Further: "to allow evil to become and continue without any purpose of Redemption is an absolutely inconceivable act in a good and holy and gracious God." In the section dealing with the Philosophy of Religion we have a valuable review of the History of Religion. In analyzing the subjective and objective factors of religion, in formulating the relation of the founder to the religion of his founding, in describing the causes of variation in religion and in handling kindred topics, Dr. Fairbairn brings out into relief many principles which are too often ignored or misunderstood by students of comparative religion. No one who



has before his eyes the current abuses of the Science of Religion can read Principal Fairbairn's canons for the proper use of Ethnography, or his discussion of the question whether all religions are variations of one religion, without feeling that he has said many things which needed to be said, and which few could say so well as he has said them.

Having established his philosophical prologomena, Dr. Fairbairn in the second half of the work, devotes his attention especially to determining the relation of Christ to Christianity. His position is clearly defined in the words: "The Christian religion is not built upon faith in Jesus of Nazareth, but upon the belief that He was the Christ, the Son of the living God." This thesis he finds in the Synoptics, in the claims of Christ—"claims representing a sovereignty which only a singular and preeminently privileged relation to the Father could justify"—in the Fourth Gospel, the Apocalypse, the Epistles of St. Paul, etc. Worthy of special note is the argument built upon the fact that while other religions have lifted their founders to a superhuman rank, Christianity alone has worshipped its Founder as God, and has moreover thereby given to the world a more exalted and universal conception of the Deity.

To state Christian doctrine in relation to the thought of the day—this is a work for which the time is ripe. Principal Fairbairn has laid down the lines of the synthesis and has shown that the claims of Christianity are compatible with the frankest admission of the claims of reason and critical science. To this coordination he has brought a marvelous grasp of all the questions in philosophy and history that bear on Christianity, and an eloquence that cannot be matched in recent religious literature. For such a work as Harnack's "What is Christianity?" he has provided a much needed antidote. Against the fundamental thesis of the Berlin historian who would leave to Christ no place in His Gospel, Principal Fairbairn has proved that "without the metaphysical conception of Christ the Christian religion would long ago have ceased to live."

It is a matter for regret and surprise that Dr. Fairbairn did not bring to his strictures on Catholic doctrines that sympathy and insight which are so conspicuous in the rest of his pages. We were prepared for his views on the Eucharist, but we were hardly prepared for the assertion that if the dogma of the Immaculate Conception be logical "not only Mary, but all her ancestors and ancestresses back to Adam, were immaculately conceived." Still less did we expect to find in such a book such a sentence as this: "Nothing fills me with darker horror or deeper aversion than the apotheosis of wounds and death which the Roman Church offers as the image of Christ."

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However, it is not the first time that "the foremost theologian of England" has shown how vast and varied learning may go hand in hand with a somewhat crude conception of the system and the spirit of Catholicism.

HUMPHREY MOYNIHAN.

ST. PAUL SEMINARY.

**Rich and Poor in the New Testament.** By Orello Cone, D.D.  
New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. vi + 245.

One reads this book with mixed impressions. The smooth literary English and inviting typography carry the reader along through the discussion of an interesting topic, and one peruses the book to the end, in spite of the constant recurrence of ideas which, however, delicately phrased, jar on orthodox sensibilities, and are utterly at variance with Catholic faith. When it is said that the author is a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, the reader will know in a general way what to expect. Jesus the "son of a mechanic" is of course a transcendent Teacher, but not without his limitations and illusions, especially regarding the coming of the Kingdom. The fact that he regarded the Parousia as impending shortened his perspective of earthly conditions, and disturbed the judgment of his Apostles and followers on social relations. Hence the radical teaching of the intrinsic evil of riches, the now impracticable injunction to renounce all things, not to resist the evil-doer, and so forth. In the work under review, one is always coming upon unsuspected difficulties raised by German criticism—solved sometimes variously but often with tempting plausibility, however inadmissible the solutions are to one following the principles and analogies of Catholic theology. Not all are fitted to successfully resist the insidious influence of such a book as this where the hypotheses and conclusions of rationalistic criticism impregnate a composition of alluring theme and style, while strenuous protest is almost disarmed by the calm scholarly tone, and the high value admirably set upon the teachings of Our Lord and the New Testament *in general*.

After the critical process has done its work and eliminated from Christ's and the apostles' doctrine concerning earthly goods, what is of doubtful authenticity or merely transient value, the residuum is found by our author to contain principles and inspirations of great virtue for the betterment of modern social conditions. The surer and most satisfactory part of Dr. Cone's work, because the least negative, is the chapter on the New Testament and the Social Question of To-Day, though naturally it is tinged with humanitarianism. Of the New Testament in this relation the writer says with

truth: "Principles, the seeker will find in it, not system." "The effective remedy will be found, not in a new system, but in a new spirit." Materialism is decried, the paramount claims of spiritual life and aims upheld.

Yet the liberal Protestant and rationalist exegesis of the day is always missing the higher spirituality of the inspired text. The hard, dry literalism of this school robs the words of more than half their meaning. The historico-literal method of interpretation is the only solid *basis* for a right understanding of the sacred text, but to stop at that is, in general, to take the symbol and leave the reality, to feed on the letter which by itself killeth and discard the quickening spirit. The same error often puts the inspired authors unnecessarily at variance with one another. The higher transcendent truth, which is the key to synthesize them, is missing or contemptuously disregarded by the critics of whom I speak. For instance, Dr. Cone finds Matthew and Luke in hopeless disagreement, because the former reports the first beatitude as: "Blessed are the poor in spirit"—and the latter: "Blessed are ye poor," and he decides in favor of Luke's version in its literal sense.

Why cannot both be right, within their scope, Luke transmitting the letter, and Matthew the broad, spiritual meaning of the maxim—a sense implied in Luke's context, or the circumstances in which the words were spoken? Similarly for "Blessed ye who hunger now." To say that the hunger of the disciples, to which a blessing is attached, is merely a physical hunger, and that the recompense promised is merely a physical satisfaction, is to sadly misread the Sermon on the Mount.

GEORGE J. REID.

ST. PAUL SEMINARY.

**Die Beiden Ersten Erasmus Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments und ihre Gegner.** Von Prof. Dr. Aug. Bludau. Herder, 1902. (Biblische Studien, VII, 5.) Pp. vi + 145. 85 cents.

To Erasmus belongs the honor of giving to the world the first printed edition of the New Testament in Greek. Scholars will find in this monograph a detailed account of its publication and that of the editions immediately following. The Greek was accompanied by an original Latin translation which differed much from the Vulgate, and this departure, together with the annotations in which the great humanist defended his text and version against the anticipated cavilings of scholastic learning and "monkish theology" gave rise to a series of controversies and discussions with various scholars and divines, including Luther, who had not yet broken with the Church,

and with Dr. Eek, the heresiarch's later antagonist. All countries were represented by these critics, some of whom were friendly and some acrimoniously personal. Erasmus was accused of favoring mostly all the heresies in the catalogue, including Arianism, Eutychianism, Pelagianism, Apollinarism and finally Lutheranism. From among these disputes the author has chosen those which best illustrate the strife between the humanists and scholastics on the eve of the Reformation. As is well known, Erasmus sympathized with the first movements of the Reformers; the annotations of his New Testament exhibit this free and rather bold spirit inveighing against the complexity, burden and degeneracy of the ecclesiasticism of his day.

GEORGE J. REID.

ST. PAUL SEMINARY.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

Alberti, De Jejunio Ecclesiastico tractatus theoricus et practicus. Rome: Pustet, 1903. 8°, pp. 80.

Casus Conscientiæ ad usum Confessariorum compositi et soluti, ab Augustino Lehmkuhl, S.J., vol. I, Casus de theologiæ moralis principiis et de præceptis atque officiis Christianis speciatim sumptis. Freiburg: Herder, 1903. 8°, pp. 566. \$2.40.

The Lady of the Lake, edited with notes and introduction by George Rice Carpenter. New York: Longmans, 1903. 8°, pp. xxiv + 191.

Reverend Mother Xavier Warde, The Story of Her Life, etc. Boston: Marlier & Co., 1902. 8°, pp. 287.

The Talisman. By Anna T. Sadlier. New York: Benziger, 1903. 8°, pp. 186.

The Pilkington Heir. By Anna T. Sadlier. New York: Benziger.

## THE PONTIFICAL JUBILEE OF LEO XIII (1878-1903).

Leo XIII has been a great educational pope. It is probably the title he would himself choose as his best recommendation to posterity. Moderation and conciliation have been his watchwords among parties sects and factions bent either on the extermination of the truth or of one another. In all the ecclesiastical sciences he has been like the wise house-father, a preserver of what was old and good, and an apostle of what was useful in the new elements of progress. And now a more than patriarchal length of years is vouchsafed to him, whereby his services to Catholicism must always be seen in a certain romantic light. The latest successor of Peter seems to touch the Fisherman across the eventful centuries. Standing at his tomb he can see himself yet the centre of a world of Catholic faith and obedience that finds its *raison d'être* beneath the matchless dome that shelters the last resting place of Christ's first Vicar. First and last, the office is a teaching office, the sublimest *magisterium* the world has known, so sublime that the Holy Spirit has taken it under His own protecting care. Popes come and go, but their purpose lives on forever, and a new person is never wanting on whom to throw the mantle of succession and responsibility. Only, from time to time, the habitual grandeur of their dignity is heightened by circumstances, and among these is an exceptional length of service in an office to which men usually attain when already old, and whose cares are specially wearing and exhaustive.

The University celebrated with all due solemnity this marvellous event in the life of Leo XIII. A general holiday was proclaimed for Tuesday, March 3, in honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary feast of the Coronation of the Holy Father. At 9:30 A. M. Pontifical Mass was celebrated in the Divinity Chapel in the presence of the professors and students of the University. The Rt. Rev. Rector sang the pontifical mass. Rev. John W. Melody was assistant priest; Rev. Victor Ducat, of Detroit, deacon; Rev. Maurice O'Connor, of Boston, sub-

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deacon, and Rev. William P. Clark, of Cincinnati, and Rev. Thomas E. McGuigan, of Baltimore, masters of ceremonies. At the close of the mass the *Te Deum* was intoned by the Rt. Rev. Rector as an act of thanksgiving to God for the many blessings that have come to the Church during the pontificate of Leo XIII, and in grateful recognition of the memorable equaling of the years of Peter.

At 11 o'clock the solemn academic exercises of the day were held in the Aula Maxima of McMahon Hall. The Rt. Rev. Rector presided. Seated on the platform were the professors of the various faculties and the representatives of the colleges and religious houses.

The Rt. Rev. Rector made the opening address and in it spoke feelingly of the character and services of the Holy Father. It would always be remembered that the founder of the University lived to see the years of Peter, and in this rare happening we might recognize an omen of good fortune for the years to come. The broad ocean might divide us from the Common Father of Christendom, but our hearts overleaped that barrier, and in spirit we were present at the glorious assembly in the Basilica of Saint Peter, beneath the matchless dome, members of the great Catholic family and rejoicing with it that God had seen fit to crown with extraordinary length of days the latest successor of the Fisherman. Leo XIII would be always remembered in the world's history for any one of his varied lines of intellectual activity and spiritual direction. But when he stands forth, as he now does, one of the three popes who in nineteen centuries have ruled the Christian world as long as the first Vicar of Jesus Christ, his fame will certainly be unperishable and his name remembered by the remotest posterity.

The following professors eulogized in turn the work of Leo XIII in their respective branches. Rev. Dr. Henry Hyvernatt spoke of "Leo XIII and Oriental Studies"; Rev. Dr. Charles P. Grannan, of "Leo XIII and the Biblical Commission"; Rev. Dr. Thomas J. Shahan, on "Leo XIII and the Science of Church History"; Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace, on "Leo XIII and Scholastic Philosophy"; Dr. William C. Robinson, on "Leo XIII and the Science of Law"; Rev. Dr.

William T. Kerby, on "Leo XIII and the Social Sciences," and Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, on "Leo XIII and Poetry." The closing address as made by Rev. Dr. Edmund T. Shanahan, professor of Dogmatic Theology and Dean of the theological faculty.

On the conclusion of these discourses, the following resolutions of congratulation were read by V. Rev. Dr. Shanahan, Dean of the Faculty of Theology.

Leo XIII, student, litterateur, sociologist, philosopher, civil governor, diplomat, statesman, priest, bishop, cardinal, pope, who shed the luster of his many-sided personality on these several careers; restorer of the philosophy and theology of St. Thomas to the place of honor in all Catholic schools; advocate of the synthetic spirit and sweeping world-view of the great Dominican as an offset to the extremes of the present-day specialization and as an incentive to a larger outlook upon the field of human knowledge; advocate, no less, of science and research, whereby the revelation of God in nature is daily increased, the hardships and discomforts of life are more and more diminished, and the truths from above are ever more surely seen to be in concert with the discoveries from below; exhorter of the clergy and the laity to a spirit of study in which investigation and reconstruction should go together; patron of the science of history, who encouraged the work of a number of independent investigators in history and liturgy by appointing them to membership on the historico-liturgical commission, who opened the doors of the Vatican archives to the scholars of the world and wrote the three supreme canons by which all historical research should be forever governed; patron no less of the biblical sciences, in the interest of which he has shown a scholar's zeal, for the direction of which he has latterly appointed a permanent commission; foreseeing friend of the poor and needy in a world whose fat and lean kine do not exhibit the proportions revealed in the dream of Joseph, his ancient homonym; spokesman of the rights of labor, the worth and dignity of the human individual, the ethical as against the purely economic appreciation of man; adversary of socialism and all movements threatening social order; exponent of the Christian constitution of civil governments, the mutual rights, duties and prerogatives of church and state in promoting, respectively, the spiritual and temporal good of their subjects; supporter of The Hague Conference and freely chosen arbiter of international disputes in the interests of universal peace; indefatigable promoter of harmony between the

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churches of the West and the East, within and without the spiritual commonwealth of Christ, between embittered political and religious parties in his own and other lands; guardian of the Christian family and opponent of divorce; champion of Catholic piety, practice and tradition throughout the church universal; establisher of a larger and more solidified hierarchy for purposes of a more generous spiritual life; founder of the Catholic University of America for the inheritance of his spirit and the propagation of his ideas in the years that are to be; friend of this truly great Republic of the West, in which his watchful eyes have ever discerned a fair field for the beloved Church Catholic whose interests have been peculiarly his in the century of years with which we hope the Lord's bounty will crown him ere he takes his place among the peers of the church triumphant;

*Wherefore*, in the honor of this great Catholic leader, whose sword is of the spirit; in honor of this encyclopædic Pontiff, whose hospitable soul admitted an ailing and troubled world into the confidence and counsel of his sympathy; in honor of this Pope of solidarity, who strove to restore harmony between the natural and the supernatural, science and religion, faith and reason, piety and learning, and exemplified in his own matchless career the embodiment of the ideals which he taught; in honor of this advocate of peace, who sought the peace of the family, the workingman, the church, the state, and the reunion of all Christendom by his firmly gentle and gently firm method of conciliation, by his loftiness of purpose and nobility of aim; who ever rendered to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's, protesting only with the righteousness of a holy cause against the despoilment of the patrimony of Peter's successors and his own enforced captivity; in honor of Leo XIII, in fine, our common spiritual father, founder and friend, be it, and it is hereby

*Resolved*, That we, the rector, professors and students of the Catholic University of America, in joint meeting assembled, after hearing the eulogistic discourses on our Holy Father pronounced by the members of the teaching staff of this institution, do mark this day as sacred in our annals and do hereby give public act of expression to our sense of loyalty, love, devotion and gratitude to this noble successor of the Fisherman, to whom it has been given to see the years of Peter, to whom it shall be given, God grant, to enjoy still greater length of days in governing the Kingdom of God and furthering the purpose of Him who died that all men might live.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted as the expression of the sentiments of filial love and veneration of the

University for its founder, Leo XIII. At the same time the cablegram of felicitation was sent; its text and the reply of the Holy Father are appended.<sup>1</sup>

CARDINAL RAMPOLLA, ROME, ITALY: Beatissimo Patri Quem Diu Deus Sospitet Jubilæum Celebranti Universitatis Catholicæ Americæ Borealis Rector Doctores Alumni Concilium Concionesque Habentes Gratulantur Fundatori Patrono Amico Faustos Annos Fausta Omnia Precantur Sanctitatis Suae Pedibus Provoluti Benedictionem Apostolicam Enixe Petunt.

CONATY, *Rector.*

REPLY.

ILLMO. CONATY RECTORI UNIVERSITATIS CATHOLICÆ, WASHINGTON, Mar. 4, 1903: Beatissimus pater grato excepit animo devotionis sensa oblata in his pontificii jubilæi solemnibus et amantissime benedicit rectori doctoribus at alumni istius sibi acceptissimæ universitatis.

M. CARD. RAMPOLLA.

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<sup>1</sup>The rector, professors and students of the Catholic University of America, in joint meeting assembled for the purpose of celebrating the jubilee of Leo XIII, their father, founder, patron and friend, rejoice with him on this glorious day, wish him still greater fullness of years in the government of God's kingdom and humbly ask his apostolic blessing.

(*Reply.*) The Holy Father has received with great pleasure the expression of devotion conveyed to him on the occasion of his solemn pontifical jubilee, and most affectionately sends his blessing to the Rector, professors and students of the Catholic University, which Institution is very dear to him.

(Signed) M. CARD. RAMPOLLA.

## NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION.

The ninth annual meeting of the Alumni Association of the Catholic University was held Wednesday, February 18, at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York city. The president, Rev. Patrick Hayes, was in the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and accepted. The following officers were elected for the coming year: Rev. Patrick Hayes, of New York, president; Rev. G. J. Lucas, D.D., of Blossburg, Pa., and Rev. T. E. Shields, Ph.D., vice-presidents; Rev. William J. Higgins, of Philadelphia, secretary; Mr. William H. Kelly, of New York, treasurer; Rev. Francis P. Duffy, of New York, historian; executive committee: Rev. Dr. Wm. J. Kerby, of the University; Rev. W. A. Fletcher, D.D., of Baltimore; Rev. John T. Driscoll, of Fonda, N. Y.; Rev. John E. Bradley, of Philadelphia; Mr. C. E. Martin, of Parkersburg, W. Va.

The retiring executive committee made a report concerning the revision of the constitution. Mr. Clarence E. Martin sent to the officers of the Association copies of a new constitution which he had carefully prepared and to which he added a number of by-laws. The proposed constitution was submitted to the Association. Some amendments were offered for discussion, but final action was delayed in order to give more consideration to the various changes and additions suggested.

Father Fletcher drew the attention of the Association to the great loss the University has suffered by the death of the learned and beloved Dr. Bouquillon. On motion the president appointed Dr. Kerby, Fr. Fitzgerald and Dr. Fletcher a committee to draw up a resolution that should express the sentiments of the members in regard to the memory of the lamented Professor of Moral Theology. The committee reported:

"The Alumni Association has learned with deep regret of the death of Dr. Bouquillon. The Association pays a heartfelt tribute to the personal merit and scholarly attainment of Dr. Bouquillon and expresses to the University its sympathy in this great loss."

It was ordered that a copy of the resolution be spread upon

the minutes of the meeting and that a copy be forwarded to the Rt. Rev. Rector.

It was felt by all present at the meeting that the time had now come when the Association should give some practical illustration of its attachment to the University. Hitherto the members have been content to meet once a year to renew old friendships, to gather round the festive board, to speak of the happy hours spent at the University and to sing her praises. But according to the constitution of the Alumni Association the organization has other purposes beside these. The Association was formed not only to promote friendship among the alumni, but also to strengthen the union between the alumni and the University, and to further the interests of the University.

A very graceful means of manifesting in a substantial way the regard of the alumni for Alma Mater was brought to the notice of the meeting. It met at once the favor of all present. It was learned that Dr. Bouquillon had bequeathed his very valuable library to the University with the proviso that the University should pay \$5,000 to his heirs. The authorities of the University were thoroughly acquainted with the value of the collection which had cost the labor of a lifetime and had exercised the discriminating skill of a famous bibliophile. Permission was obtained from the trustees to borrow the money which would secure for the University a collection that cannot be duplicated, containing, as it does, many rare and costly volumes, in every way a unique contribution to the needs of the University library. On the motion of Rev. J. F. Smith the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Association:

*"Resolved, That the Alumni Association pledge itself to raise \$5,000, to present the library of Dr. Bouquillon to the University according to the terms of his will."*

The president was empowered to appoint at his leisure a committee which should take measures to obtain contributions from the alumni towards the proposed fund. All who were present at the meeting are confident that there will be a willing and early response to the request of the committee, and that the Alumni Association will imitate in an humble

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way the splendid example of the alumni of the American College at Rome who have recently given a most emphatic proof of their practical interest in their Alma Mater. The coöperation of every alumnus of the University will be earnestly relied upon by the Association in this its first effort to manifest its devotion to the University.

The meeting was followed by a banquet. Sincere thanks are due to the thoughtful care of the alumni of New York, whose efforts to entertain the visitors surpassed all expectation. It will be difficult in the future to eclipse the elegant hospitality displayed on that occasion. During the course of the banquet it was announced that letters of regret were received from His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Keane, Bishops O'Gorman and Garrigan, Drs. Dumont, Shanahan, Shanahan, Aiken, Maguire, Neill, and from over fifty members of the Association. All the letters received expressed sincere attachment and loyalty to the University.

At the banquet the toasts were: "Our Holy Father," Bishop Conaty; "The Archbishop of New York," Dr. Kerby; "Our Country," Mr. Francis P. Garvan; "Our Guests," Dr. M. Cready. The distinguished speakers were heard with profound interest and they were interrupted many times by vigorous and hearty applause.

The Association was highly honored by the Most Rev. Archbishop of New York. He graciously acceded to the wish of all present by making an address. His speech will be memorable in the annals of the Association.

Most Reverend Archbishop Farley began his remarks by recalling the early history of the University idea and the welcome which he had given to it. The Church had neither organ nor institution in the United States, through which to bring to expression higher and advancing Catholic thought. This consciousness of a defect in our religious life seems to have created the University idea; it has been the support of the University ever since and to-day it is its main inspiration.

The Archbishop dwelt at length on this important function of the University, and he reminded the members of the Alumni Association that the needs of the University must be gauged by that high standard. Thus measured, those needs are great. Great must be the love and good will of the alumni, of the hierarchy, the clergy, and the

Catholic laity of the nation. The possibilities of the University, when it will be thus strengthened and supported, are magnificent.

Early trials in the University's life have not only intensified but clarified in all members the consciousness of their noble mission. Indifference and misunderstanding have, therefore, been providentially sources of great strength. The University's perpetuity is assured, the continuation of its work and its glorious success are now merely questions of detail. Much remains to be done naturally, but we know that it will be well done; the prospects of the University were never brighter. It is necessary only to work with energy, with method, to collect around the University the good will, the interest, and sympathy of the Catholics of the nation, and to perfect internal organization. We may trust to the blessing of God for success.

The Archbishop referred with much feeling to the presence of the Paulists, the Fathers of the Holy Cross, the Sulpicians, the Marists, and the Dominicans as a guarantee of the future of the University and as a prophecy of the unifying and strengthening of our Catholic life through the instrumentality of the University. He hoped that others would follow their example.

He alluded briefly but in most flattering terms to the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY BULLETIN, its scope and the excellence of its work, and its value as a means of placing Catholic thought before the country.

Addressing the alumni, whose guest he was, he complimented them on their attachment to the University and appealed to them for constant active loyalty. They were to be the University's representatives and apostles in their life and in their work.

Concluding, the Archbishop pledged his unqualified support and sympathy to the University, and he was emphatic in his expression of his belief that an epoch of great activity and fruitful service to the Church has already been begun in the University's career. Much credit for it is due to Right Reverend Bishop Conaty, whose term as Rector is about to expire. The work, so well directed under him, will be taken up with equal energy and zeal by his successor.

As Joseph in his dream saw his brothers come and render homage to him, may we not soon see the day when all of the institutions of Catholic life in the nation, will render willing and loving homage to the University as their pride and glory. As under Joseph's direction, the granaries were filled before the years of famine, may we not hope to see the University, the great store-house of the seed of Faith, preserved against the religious and spiritual famine that seems to threaten our civilization.

Those present at the banquet were: Most Rev. John

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M. Farley, D.D., Archbishop of New York; Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, Rector of the University; Very Rev. James F. Driscoll, S.T.D., St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y.; Very Rev. Edward A. Pace, S.T.D., Rev. Henry Hyvernatt, S.T.D., Rev. Dr. Wm. J. Kerby, Catholic University; Very Rev. M. W. Holland, V.F., Port Henry, N. Y.; Rev. A. P. Doyle, C.S.P., New York; Rev. Joseph H. McMahon, D.D., Rev. Chas. McCready, LL.D., Rev. M. C. Farrell, Rev. P. J. Hayes, Rev. Joseph F. Smith, Rev. Francis P. Duffy, Rev. Jno. F. Brady, Rev. William A. Courtney, Rev. Jas. J. Keane, Rev. R. B. Cushion, Rev. Thos. J. Heafy, Rev. Jas. V. Lewis, Rev. C. F. Crowley, Rev. Patrick J. Healy, Rev. Francis Colety, Rev. D. J. McMackin, D.D., Rev. Jas. P. Sheridan, Rev. Jas. F. Ferris, New York; Messrs. William H. Kelly, Francis P. Garvan, Thomas B. Lawler, John F. Duane, Rev. Joseph P. McGinley, Bay Shore, N. Y.; Rev. T. J. O'Brien, Brooklyn; Messrs. George V. Powers, Joseph G. Powers, Central Park, L. I.; Rev. Francis J. Sheehan, Rev. Michael J. M. Sorley, Rev. John E. Bradley, Rev. N. J. Higgins, Philadelphia; Rev. J. J. Loftus, Watertown, Conn.; Rev. John C. Ivers, Holyoke, Mass.; Rev. Michael Mulvihill, Marion, Ohio; Rev. J. F. Donohue, New Milford, Conn.; Rev. G. J. Lucas, D.D., Blossburg, Pa.; Rev. James J. Fox, D.D., St. Thomas College, Washington; Messrs. W. T. Jackson, Isaac L. Henson, Francis de S. Smith, Washington; Mr. D. J. Donovan, M.D., New York; Rev. John T. Driscoll Fonda, N. Y.; Mr. John W. Smith, Washington; Rev. John T. Stinson, Walden, Mass.; Rev. Matias Cuevas, University; Rev. M. G. Flannery, Far Rockaway, L. I.; Rev. Wm. J. Fitzgerald, Millville, N. J.; Rev. W. A. Fletcher, D.D., Baltimore; Rev. T. E. Shields, Ph.D., University; Rev. John Fleming, Waterbury, Conn.; Rev. Geo. F. Hickey, Milford, Ohio.

Next year the annual reunion will be held, in accordance with the constitution, in Washington.

REV. WILLIAM J. HIGGINS,  
*Secretary.*

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### REV. THOMAS LEO BARRY, S.T.L.

Rev. Thomas Leo Barry, S.T.L., of the diocese of Pittsburgh, died March 14, 1903, at the early age of twenty-seven. He made his preparatory studies at the College of the Holy Ghost, Pittsburgh, and his professional course at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, where he was ordained in June, 1899. In the fall of this same year he entered the Catholic University as a graduate student of theology and history, giving evidence from the beginning of the exceptional ability which had marked his earlier career. His dissertation for the licentiate degree, which he won with high honor in June, 1901, was a very creditable piece of work, and in his public examination for the same degree he showed a maturity of mind and judgment truly commendable.

The central problem in Christian Anthropology, that, namely, which concerns the historical development of the idea of image and likeness, was singled out by him for investigation. The work grew in interest and importance as he proceeded, and afforded so clear an outlook upon the theology of grace that he returned to the University in 1901 with the end in view of pursuing his study still further for the Doctor's degree. The better to enable him to complete a piece of work thus auspiciously begun, as well as to pay public tribute to the esteem in which he was held, he was to be made fellow in the department of dogmatic theology this year. News of his rapidly failing health came as a sad surprise to those who felt with assurance, made doubly sure by actual achievement, that his future was bright with promise.

Gentle, unpretentious, earnest and thorough in his character as in his work, he would be the first to deprecate, if living, these words, no less true because kindly, which his memory calls forth. His quiet, unobtrusive spirit was critical without being harsh, sympathetic without being effusive, judicious rather than argumentative. History furnished him with

the safest approach to old problems, and his positive character of mind found great pleasure in retracing the path of an idea down through the centuries.

Never self-assertive, he was to the members of the teaching-staff as to his fellow students on all occasions the priestly gentleman whose outward self reflected the calm of his inner life. Men of his stamp are given to force the pace of others; the battle of life is not always to the strong, nor the race to the fleet of foot, and Thomas Barry has proved that there is a momentum in the calmest of spirits where the world is least prone to look for its presence. May he rest in peace!

His funeral took place at Pittsburg, March 16, and Fathers Heverin, Crane and Grant, of the University student body, attended. On the same day a solemn Mass of requiem for the repose of his soul was celebrated in the University chapel in the presence of rector, professors and students. To his deeply grieved parents and relatives the University extends sympathy on this occasion of common loss.

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## NOTES AND COMMENT.

**When Did St. Cæcilia Suffer Martyrdom?**—Among the minor controversies of the last decade we may set down the question of the time of the death of the Roman martyr Cæcilia. It is an old controversy, but was long held to be settled by the opinion of De Rossi that she died in 177, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Since the death of the master, more than one of his theories has been questioned, and among them the date of 177 for the martyrdom of Cæcilia. Several archaeologists have tried to locate her trial somewhere in the third century, from Septimius Severus to Valerian. One, bolder than others, has come out strongly for the reign of Julian the Apostate. Dr. Kirsch, of the University of Friburg, has for some time advocated the reign of Alexander Severus, and particularly the year 229-230. In his interesting brochure, Dr. Bianchi-Cagliesi adheres to the view of Dr. Kirsch, after expounding with clearness the dissenting opinions of other scholars. He has also collected many historical data concerning the venerable basilica that ranks among the oldest meeting-places of the Christian society, and which has lately been restored at the expense of its titular, Cardinal Rampolla. (Rome, Fr. Pustet, 1902, pp. 89.)

**Female Recluses in the Middle Ages.**—Our modern life, doubtless, has no place for pious souls, men and women, who might desire to shut themselves up in a small cell, close to some church or cathedral, with a window open upon the sanctuary, and another upon the church yard. Yet of such recluses there was once an abundance throughout all Catholic Europe. At its best, the purpose of this peculiar isolation was a highly mystical one—close and perpetual union with Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. They were hermits in a way, and yet not cut off from the society of the town or village. Their reputation for sanctity and the general mystical temper of the time combined often to make them the councillors of clergy and people, the depositories of secrets and even of portable wealth. In England the women-recluses were known as "Anchoresses," as distinguished from the men known as "Anchorites." A number of stone cells still remain in England, once affected to the use of such anchorites and anchoresses. Miss Francesca Steele has made an entertaining book out of the odds and ends of references to such persons in mediæval hagiology. There is no attempt at any

critical description and discussion of the sources for her story—the current data in dictionaries and ordinary hagiological collections are accepted. A preface by Fr. Vincent McNabb, O.P., on the theology of mysticism serves as a suitable introduction to the book. It is a pity that the scattered references to her authorities were not gathered together in a suitable bibliography—such a service is always welcome to the scholarly reader and often promotes the sale of older but excellent works, only too easily forgotten in the actual abnormal output of historical literature. (*The Anchoresses of the West*, by Francesca M. Steele (Darley Dale), St. Louis, B. Herder, 1903, 8°, pp. xix + 257.)

**The Perennial Charm of Saint Francis.**—It is not unnatural that a world overrun with materialism, and more deeply deceived than it likes to admit should again hark back to the "*Poverello di Cristo*," should listen once more to the simple, sweet, original poetry of the devout Umbrian heart, in which his first disciples clothed the story of his life. Then, the irrepressible thirst for social justice and equality, the sight of strong new walls of division rising amid our changing economical conditions, added to the scientific treatment of the Romance literature and the earnest quasi-religious study of the mediæval beginnings of western art, have repopularized Saint Francis, not exactly among his own, but among a multitude of non-Catholics. In his very remarkable "*Vie de Saint Francois*" Paul Sabatier has given expression to all these neo-Protestant sympathies, and his editions of the oldest Franciscan attempts at the story of their founder have added to his merits. Unfortunately his thesis is enslaved to his hypothesis, viz., that the spirit and purpose of Francis were really anti-Roman, anti-organizational, and that violence was done him, both living and dead, by the Roman Curia, in order to stifle the germ of individual and irresponsible mysticism that was the essence of his life and ideal. Under the caption "*Sons of St. Francis*" we have a popularization of the writings and the hypotheses of the school of M. Sabatier. In spite of the loose journalistic English of the work, there are both life and color in its pages, and the author has often caught the inspiration of the peculiar conditions of the thirteenth century amid which Saint Francis arose and flourished. Perhaps the best pages are those descriptive of that "*rara avis*" among mediæval chroniclers, the gossipy, wandering, highly personal and independent Fra Salimbene of Parma. Only too often the author manifests great ignorance of the Catholic doctrine of sanctity—its history, its points of contact with society, manners, daily life, prejudices, aspirations,

ideals, states of culture, intellectual, social and economic conditions and the like. Saint Francis is no "Reformer before the Reformers," no enemy, tacit or otherwise, of the Roman Church. The fine but misdirected genius of M. Sabatier can accomplish no more than the historical erudition and insight of Uhlmann and a host of others who seek for the essence of the Lutheran revolution away from its authentic and sufficient sources and causes. (*Sons of St. Francis*, by Anne Macdonnell, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902, 8°, pp. 436).

**The Abjuration of Jeanne D'Arc.**—In the course of the process of canonization of Jeanne d'Arc, the fact of her abjuration of her famous "voices" and confession of imposture, deception, superstition, blasphemy, and violation of the divine law, the Holy Scriptures and the Canons of the Church, has naturally come up for discussion. The abbé Ulysse Chevalier, in a brochure of eighty-eight pages, submits the entire "*sujet lugubre et angoissant*" to a penetrating critical examination. After a minute study of all the original texts, in their chronological order and according to their reliability, and after a careful investigation of the rules of fifteenth-century inquisitorial procedure, he concludes that the process of the "Maid" was canonically "beyond a doubt invalid and null." The act of abjuration, as now found in the documents of the process, is either a forgery or much interpolated—the witnesses agreeing at a later date that it contained only seven or eight lines, whereas the actual (French) document contains some fifty lines. M. Chevalier nevertheless maintains (p. 86) that the "Maid" was not thereby justified for her abjuration and retractation "*in extremis*." It would seem, however, from his own exposé of the physical and moral pressure brought against the wonderful girl that we are in presence of that "*metus*" which in the eyes of the Church robs an act of its "human" character, nullifies in it the element of responsibility, and reduces it to the rank of deeds performed under the blind compelling laws or instincts of nature. The study of M. Chevalier is otherwise a model of concise and objective criticism; its bibliographical notes are abundant and very useful; its judgments habitually sane and conservative. The publishers are not too bold when they say of this brochure that it is a "*régal pour les connoisseurs et une des pièces essentielles à consulter sur la vie de l'héroïne*." (*L'Abjuration de Jeanne d'Arc au cimetière de Saint Ouen et l'authenticité de sa formule*, Paris, Picard, 1902, 8°, pp. 88.)

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**Sources of French History.**—Students of mediæval history will welcome the third fascicule of the “*Sources de l’Histoire de France*” that we owe to the learned direction of M. Molinier. In the number before us, the historians of the later Capetian dynasty (1180–1328) are treated with the same fulness and proportion that distinguish the two previous issues. Over three thousand (3,092) writers on French mediæval history are now described in this work that deserves a place in every public and private library. (Paris, Picard, 82 Rue Bonaparte, 1903.)

**The Truth of Papal Claims.**—Under this caption Mgr. Merry Del Val publishes the results of a controversy between himself and an Anglican clergyman at Rome in the winter of 1902. Only the more remarkable arguments for the supremacy of the Roman See are set forth, and these are drawn principally from the Christian Fathers of the first five centuries. It is difficult in a controversy to make clear the full value of these ancient texts: the adversary’s mind is usually clouded by prejudices and pre-occupations of a remote and often intangible character. Nevertheless, Mgr. Del Val has produced a good work, small in compass, but very useful for the general reader, and sufficient to illustrate the strength of the immemorial Catholic tradition. (B. Herder, St. Louis, 1902, 8°, pp. 129 + xv.)

**The Civilization of the Philippines.**—It is a pity that some friendly hand did not “castigate” the English style of the booklet that under the above title presents excellent considerations on the great merits of the religious orders in the civilization of the Philippines. The translators of this and similar brochures have doubtless rendered the sense of their Spanish originals—but at every page the English-speaking man must “start and stare” at the unidiomatic phraseology, improper use of prepositions, and generally foreign air of the whole page. Catholics know *a priori* that the labors of the orders are the true source of whatever civilization exists in the Philippines. What is now wanted is the proper presentation, in fully documented and illustrated works, of the past history of the Philippines. As it is, the truth suffers from the absence of a respectable Catholic literature in English concerning our island possessions. (Thomas J. Flynn, Boston, 1903, 8°, pp. 72.)

**The Hand of God in American History.**—Is there a divine Providence shaping for good our national life? Principal Thompson is firmly persuaded that such direction is visible in our history from its very beginning. In illustration of his thesis he treats philosoph-

ically the great events and the main features of our public life from the colonial period down to our own time. Naturally in the multitude of appreciations that fall from his pen as he surveys three centuries of a new and unexampled human activity, there are some from which many will dissent. His political point of view is frankly stated and vigorously defended. He is wedded to the belief in a "Scotch-Irish" national element. But, aside from minor deficiencies, his book is remarkable for elevation of sentiment, and for large Christian views of public life, wealth, equality, labor, and charity. His views on education (pp. 212-217) are very sane and correct. What he has to say (pp. 105-117) on Immigration as a factor in the upbuilding of the American state is well worth an attentive reading. Principal Thomson looks with courage and hopefulness on the future of a people which, in the past, has conquered nature and itself, has often risen to the highest human conception of justice, and responds yet to the great Christian impulses and influences that moulded its present greatness. He is impartial, as may be seen from his pages on the causes of the Mexican War and on the actual condition of the negro. He writes with much concision, yet his pages are often picturesque and always throb with feeling and the high passion of an enlightened patriotism. (T. Y. Crowell and Co., New York, 1902, 8°, pp. 235.)

**Religious Liberty in Maryland and Rhode Island.**—Rev. Lucian Johnston, S.T.L., offers in a pamphlet bearing this suggestive title a summary of the evidence concerning certain dissenting claims to priority in the matter of religious toleration in the New World, or rather within the actual territory of the United States. Rhode Island's foundation dates from 1636, and taking it for granted that absolute religious liberty was thenceforth the law and custom of that colony, it might seem to have priority over Maryland, which passed its famous Toleration Act in 1649. But Father Johnston maintains that the latter date cannot be taken as the beginning of religious liberty in Maryland. That colony really dates from the Avalon patent (1623), "logically and historically the beginning of Maryland." At any rate, religious toleration is already in the Charter of Maryland (1632) and in the practice of the colony since 1634. Fr. Johnston is even of opinion (p. 13) that this toleration extended to non-Christians. The method of the writer is the proper and sure one of consulting the original documents. He reads into these documents nothing of his own, at least consciously, and his interpretation of them is sustained habitually by non-Catholic writers. This presentation of an important chapter of American history de-

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serves to be placed before the teachers and children of our parochial schools; it would make excellent supplementary reading for the upper classes in the history of the United States. Fr. Johnston discusses with sincerity and writes with calmness, as the following paragraph of his "Conclusion" will show:

"After this rather minute examination of the evidence, the present writer reiterates his general conclusion expressed in the beginning—to wit: that a comparison between Maryland and Rhode Island as to their priority in the establishment of religious liberty is somewhat idle. At least, it is not likely to result in changing the now generally settled convictions of the parties to the dispute. And for a reason which must be evident to the reader—namely, that the whole question revolves around an interpretation of written documents rather than the finding out of facts. We have all the facts. We disagree in their interpretation. Both parties by approaching the subject with preconceived opinions (as mostly all do, and will continue to do), can honestly interpret these facts in diametrically opposite fashions.

"The obvious question then suggests itself: Why has this paper been written? I answer, that it were well for it to have been written, if it does nothing else than present the evidence clearly, so that most readers will see the futility of a dispute which never can end as long as interpretations of that evidence will (as they must) conflict. It has served a still higher purpose if it convince a few that, after all, it is better to take a broader view of the whole affair, *i. e.*, to overlook the petty question of a few years priority, and regard both Lord Baltimore and Roger Williams as practically simultaneous forces in the movement towards religious freedom; forgiving the faults and errors of both, in view of their nobler motives; and seeking, as far as in us lies, to imitate the good they did. Such a view is nobler in itself, and infinitely more productive of sound sense and mutual good feeling."

One regrets the absence of a table of contents and an alphabetical index. Otherwise the pamphlet is a tasty and meritorious production that could easily be swelled into a very useful book—many of its brief paragraphs barely state the outlines of stirring events and measures that it were well to know in greater detail. There is always much instruction in the phraseology of the contemporary documents and literature. We hope that some day Fr. Johnston will undertake this task, if only as a labor of love. (International Catholic Truth Society, Brooklyn, 1903, 8°, pp. 56. Ten cents.)

**Irish Rhode Islanders in the American Revolution.**—Mr. Thomas Hamilton Murray, the efficient Secretary-General of the American-Irish Historical Society, has placed upon the future historians of the American Revolution a serious burden of gratitude, by a series of publications in which he has gathered the names of many Irishmen who served in the armies of the young republic. From the muster and size rolls of the Revolution, records of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, official war correspondence, company and regimental reports, and other authoritative sources (p. 13) he has collected the numerous facts that go to establish indubitably the share of Ireland in the glory of American Independence. Mr. Murray has not only made out a long list of Rhode Island Irishmen; he has also collected the names of many others who came from Massachusetts and New Hampshire to serve in the quota of Rhode Island. Every such contribution to the history of the upbuilding of the world's greatest republic is of value not alone to the scholars of the present, but to those of the future. It is only when a multitude of such painstaking monographs is at hand, making known and using the forgotten original sources for these special studies, that the future historians of the Revolution can allot scientifically to Ireland the merit which, in a general way, has never been honestly denied. (The American-Irish Historical Society, Providence, R. I., 1903, 8°, pp. 90.)

**Early Americana of Interest.**—The latest issue of the meritorious "Historical Records and Studies" of our New York Catholic Historical Society possesses more than a local interest. It contains from the pen of Dr. Benjamin F. DeCosta an account of the famous terrestrial globe of Pope Marcellus II (1555), and incidentally the proofs of the thesis that in the spring of 1524 the Catholic navigator Giovanni da Verazzano did, first of all Europeans, enter the harbor of New York and proceed some distance up the Hudson River. He was in the service of Francis II, and had sailed from Dieppe, reaching the coast of South Carolina on February 27. Very soon San Germano and the River of St. Anthony appear on maps of the New World as the first European names for the New York and the Hudson, the gay palace of Francis I and the mystic Franciscan saint as forerunners of imperial Eboracum and a London sailor. Made at Rome in 1542, perhaps under the direction of Marcellus Cervinus while yet a cardinal, this globe offers an interesting evidence of the rapidity with which discoveries in America were heralded through Europe. Another paper of absorbing interest is the scholarly résumé given by Dr. Charles George Herbermann of the cartographical discoveries of

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Fr. Fischer, S.J., whereby the first known map of America (1507) has become the property of the learned world. We dare say that, in so brief a space, there is no more satisfactory account of the results attained by the new school of European cartographers who have for some time been seeking in old maps, pre-Columbian and post-Columbian, for a solution of many problems concerning the earliest American discoveries that can never be solved from purely literary sources.

## THE BARONIUS SOCIETY.

The purpose of the Baronius Society is to secure annually for the Catholic University, particularly for the use of its Historical Academy, the best books on Church History, according as they are printed at home or abroad.

Every priest and every cultivated lay Catholic recognize the great need of excellent libraries, well equipped with the latest historical literature. Discussion, attack, and insinuation are more than ever carried on along the lines of history. Hence, the old theological libraries no longer furnish professors, students, and workers just the class of books they need to defend and illustrate their faith.

In the last fifty or sixty years a multitude of excellent Catholic works in every department of Church History have appeared in French, German, Italian, English, Spanish, and even other languages. Many excellent historical reviews have been founded and still continue their output of research, defence, illustration and refutation. Countless monographs have been printed on nearly every problem, institution, personality known to Church History.

New and critical editions of old ecclesiastical writers have been published both by Catholics and non-Catholics, so that it is a shame to cite antiquated texts, when scholarly editions are now accessible.

A multitude of original authorities, but little known, or hard to consult, are now before us in large collections or in separate editions. For many such works the new edition is final. All of these contain material of manifold utility for Church History, that great and final battle-field between the Church and all heresies.

Even among the works of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not a few are yet of great service to the historian for the valuable and rare documents they contain. This is notably true of the numerous historical collections owing to learned Benedictines, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans and other studious orders and congregations of that time.



We are anxious to complete at once the historical collections of the past, so that there shall be at least one centrally located library in the United States where a Catholic scholar can find every book of any practical use in Church History since the invention of printing.

We are anxious to secure an annual fund that will enable us to buy every good book likely to be useful to the Catholic Church now or in the future, for the defence of her magnificent work in the civilization of Asia, Europe and America.

*It is not necessary to have at once a large sum of money. A modest yearly income will represent considerable capital and enable us to order many valuable books on Church History as soon as they are printed.*

This will help our theological students in the preparation of their dissertations. Often the labor of several years is left incomplete for the want of many useful new books. Our licentiate and doctor candidates feel this very keenly. They have the skill, the method, the knowledge; but the weapons and equipment are wanting. As the University is young, this is no disgrace. But it can be removed or diminished by good-will and a little self-sacrifice.

*There should be at Washington a first-class library of reference for all questions pertaining to Church History. The teachers of Church History have received hundreds of letters in the past, to answer which satisfactorily required far better equipment than we then possessed, or do now.*

Every year scholarly men, priests and laymen, come to do work in our libraries. With the great increase of Catholic population owing to the results of the Spanish War, scholars and legislators will welcome more and more a rich Historical Library on our grounds. The work of the Apostolate of the Mission Fathers to non-Catholics makes it desirable that all the historical collections of the University should be completed and kept up to date.

Five dollars a year entitles one to membership in the Baronius Society. No one feels the burden very heavy, and yet the collective effort produces a permanent result beneficial to all students, whether their need be that of calm research or the refutation of some belated slander. The more neatly and

scientifically the latter class of work is done, the less will be the need of returning to the task.

Those who wish to become benefactors of the Society may do so by contributing annually such larger sums as their generosity suggests or their means permit. There are many kinds of charity; the Catholic Church has always approved and honored charity exercised toward academic institutions and purposes. Such cannot appeal to the people like a diocese or a parish; they must wait till the refined and noble-hearted think of them.

*An annual report will be issued, showing the moneys received from members and benefactors, also the full titles of all the books purchased therewith since the last report.*

All books purchased with the funds of the Baronius Society shall be the property of the Catholic University of America, be stamped with its seal, and be accessible to all its students.

Members and benefactors will receive a copy of any publication that may be issued by the Society.

The roll of membership will be exhibited publicly in Caldwell Hall.

The students of the University will be exhorted to remember daily in their prayers all who generously contribute to the work of building up the historical department of the University Library.

All correspondence and moneys should be addressed to the treasurer of the Society, Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Professor of Church History, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

## UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

**The Washington Discourse.**—On Tuesday, February 24, Hon. Hannis Taylor, member of the Spanish Treaty Claim Commission, and ex-Minister to Spain, delivered the annual discourse on George Washington.

**Annual Spiritual Retreat.**—The annual retreat was conducted this year by the Rev. Felix Ward, C.P., of the Passionist Monastery at West Hoboken, N. J.

**University Celebrations.**—The Faculty of Theology celebrated its annual patronal feast on January 25, the commemoration of the Conversion of Saint Paul. The Rev. Fr. Walter Elliott, C.S.P., delivered an appropriate discourse. On March 7, the Faculty of Philosophy celebrated the feast of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Rev. Dr. Maguire delivered an appropriate oration.

**Portrait of Cardinal Martinelli.**—A fine portrait of Cardinal Martinelli, done in oils, has been presented to the University by the artist, Mr. Thomas Eakins of Philadelphia. It is an excellent piece of work and represents the Cardinal in the street dress of his rank.

**Very Rev. Dr. Grannan Member of the Biblical Commission.**—Very Rev. Dr. Charles P. Grannan has received through the Papal Delegation at Washington the Pontifical Brief appointing him a member of the International Biblical Commission created by his Holiness Pope Leo XIII. The Commission which was first appointed in August, 1901, consisted originally of twelve members, one from each of the principal Catholic countries. It was subsequently discovered that the work was so extensive that the Commission originally named would be inadequate to perform the task imposed. The Commission has recently been reorganized and two Cardinals have been added to the original three; while the number of Consultors has been increased to forty members, comprising the most prominent Biblical scholars in the Church. It is a matter of sincere gratification to the University that it should have a representative in this distinguished body. For his fatherly condescension the University will always hold in grateful remembrance the person of Leo XIII.

**Lectures by Dr. Pace.**—In response to an invitation from the Twentieth Century Club, Dr. Pace delivered, January 24, an ad-

dress in Boston on "Moral Education." He also lectured at Bryn Mawr College, February 20, on "Medieval Views of Brain Function."

**Bishop Spalding's Lecture on Education.**—On Wednesday afternoon, March 18, the Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, Bishop of Peoria, and one of the trustees of the University, lectured in McMahon Hall on Education, before a very large audience. Over a thousand people representing all classes of the National Capital, greeted the distinguished prelate. The large hall was crowded to overflowing, as were also the corridors leading to the entrances. The day was beautiful and pleasant, and the distinguished audience was a tribute to one who is recognized as the foremost leader in the religious and educational life of the country. Seated on the platform with the Right Rev. Rector were his Excellency, the Papal Delegate, Most Rev. Archbishop Falconio; his secretary, Very Rev. Mgr. F. Z. Rooker, D.D.; the Mexican Ambassador, Senor Don Manuel de Azpiroz; Rev. Jerome Daugherty, S.J., president of Georgetown University; Rev. Edward X. Fink, S.J., president of Gonzaga College; Brother Abdas, president of St. John's College; Hon. John Lee Carroll, ex-Governor of Maryland; Hon. Judge Barry, of Winnepeg, Manitoba; Gen. E. C. O'Brien, of New York; Hon. Hannis Taylor, former Minister to Spain; Dr. William F. Byrns, Dr. A. J. Faust, Professor Cleveland Abbe, Hon. Terence V. Powderly, members of the different faculties of the University, and a large number of the reverend clergy from Washington. In his introduction the Rector, Right Rev. Bishop Conaty, spoke of the deep interest taken by the Bishop in university work, and described him as one of its most devoted friends, who never failed in all circumstances to manifest a vital interest in its establishment and development.

The discourse of Bishop Spalding was in every sense a masterly one, and held the attention of the distinguished audience for more than an hour.